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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

# Cheap Shots or Trenchant Tactics?
# Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts as Cultural Warfare

BY

**BONNIE L. HERRON**

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Arts**.

DEPARTMENT OF **ENGLISH**

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1994

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ISBN 0-612-11231-4

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DEGREE: **Master of Arts**

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: **Spring 1994**

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April 15, 1994

ABSTRACT

Hannah More, a British author whose writing during the 1790s brought her both acclaim and condemnation, wrote on behalf of the bourgeoisie who were attempting to achieve cultural hegemony in times of political and economic turmoil. More designed a counter-revolutionary rhetorical project, the Cheap Repository Tracts(1795-98). This thesis deals with More's contribution of fifty tracts to her project in light of the controversy which surrounds More and her rhetorical strategies.

Chapter One shows that More intended her tracts initially for a lower-class readership. She imitates the form, format, pricing, and distribution systems of popular street literature in order to appeal to readers of chapbooks, broadsheets, and Jacobin publications such as Thomas Paine's Rights of Man. But it becomes evident that More changes her aims when she begins to attack lower-class customs and beliefs more vigorously.

Chapter Two contains evidence that More intends to stimulate the interest of bourgeois readers in her early prose tracts. She increases her promotion of middle-class and Christian values, she upgrades the paper quality and increases the price of the tracts, and she increases dramatically her exaggeration of lower-class life in order to point out that domestic disorder leads to rebellion.

Where in earlier tracts More exaggerates domestic disorder, the tracts in Chapters Three and Four show that she reverses this strategy in order to prepare her bourgeois readers for their participation in cultural warfare. She constructs a fantasy world by taking to the extreme her depiction of a reformed lower-class populace and a hegemonic bourgeoisie. This tactic conditions her middle-class readers for the two major themes in the tracts of Chapter Four: the bourgeoisie must take "militant" action if they are to achieve the fantasy depicted earlier; middle-class women require an elevated social status as leaders of cultural reform.

More's rhetorical battle for cultural hegemony earns for her a notoriety which has lasted to modern times. Whether critics praise or condemn her tactics or her ideology, her influence as an author is unquestioned.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am pleased to acknowledge Patricia Demers and Gary Kelly for their direction and encouragement.

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Hannah More was one of the most influential, yet controversial women of her time. In a letter of 1810 Maria Edgeworth comments:

> Mrs Clifford tells me that Mrs. Hannah More was lately at Dawlish, and excited more curiosity there, and engrossed more attention, than any of the distinguished personages who were there, not excepting the Prince of Orange.(Hare, 170)

Sylvia Harcstark Myers points out that More was lauded along with other 'Bluestockings' in two branches of the arts: in Monthly Review(1774) criticism where her literary achievements were praised and as one of the 'Nine Living Muses of Great Britain' in Richard Samuel's 1775 painting (276). Modern critics also acknowledge More's influence and simultaneously attribute a broad range of causes for her significance. Frank Prochaska calls More "the most influential female philanthropist of her day, and probably the most influential woman of her time" (7). Gary Kelly calls More's Cheap Repository Tracts "the first and most lastingly influential Anti-Jacobin fiction" (1989, 60). Mitzi Myers states that "no one outlined woman's nurturing and reformative assignment more clearly than More, and no one worked harder to elevate the moral reform central to female ideology into a national mission" (1986, 266). Whether as a philanthropist, a class warrior or an exploiter and promoter of female ideology, the weight of More's influence was felt in her day and is still acknowledged in ours.

Given More's prominence in her culture's public sphere and her lasting influence on modern culture, it is understandable that she should attract critical controversy. Her methods and beliefs as a female author, a patriot and an evangelical have drawn critical fire from Jacobins, feminists, and anti-feminists in religious circles. E.P. Thompson states that William Wilberforce and Hannah More were the "foster-parents" under whose guidance "the humanitarian tradition became warped beyond recognition" (57). In so criticising More, Thompson attributes tremendous power to her, although in a negative way. Gary Kelly cites William Hone's reaction to bourgeois propaganda, particularly More's Tracts which Hone calls "false whining hypocritical papers" and "trash" (Kelly, 1993, 170). Hone also parodies More's supposed intention to have the poor starve with propriety. Feminist critics express contrasting views of More: Mary Waldron describes "the insensitive and galling condescension of Hannah More" (302) with regard to her mentoring of Ann Yearsley; Patricia Demers asks, "Is it condescension or common sense to plan to relieve the milkwoman in a way that also safeguards her role as mother of a large family?" (139). Virginia Woolf also reveals feminists' dual view of More and her contemporaries with her comment, "it might still be well to sneer at 'blue stockings' with an itch for scribbling, but it could not be denied that they could put money in their purses" (62). And

More is obvious by her almost complete absence from Joanna Innes' detailed review of the late eighteenth-century political climate, where she concentrates on the roles of More's powerful allies, Bishop Beilby Porteus and William Wilberforce. Innes understates More's significant influence, referring to her in only two sentences. She notes "her series of moral tracts aimed at poor audiences" and her "Sunday schools" (110). Otherwise, she ignores More altogether.

The most severe criticism, however, came from More's religious and conservative circles. At times, More elicited a critical response which bordered on indignation. Three instances are particularly noteworthy. First, Mr. Bere, the curate of Blagdon, after a disagreement with More's schoolmaster, led a malicious, three-year attack (1801-03) against More which consisted of various protestations against her character and her methods of teaching religion in her Sunday schools. He labels her with "fanaticism, ...with holding unsound political principles, with sympathising with the French in their designs against England, with establishing seminaries of vice" (Meakin 327). Charlotte Yonge describes the far-reaching effects of this sustained persecution which included personal attacks on More in the Anti-Jacobin Review; one pamphlet calls for The Cheap Repository Tracts "to be burnt by the common hangman" (136). A second noteworthy source of indignant criticism

toward More flowed from the pen of satirist John Wolcot, who used the pseudonym Peter Pindar to lash out at More in Nil Admirari. In his satiric diatribe he criticises More's work as "pages of puerile vanity and intellectual imbecility" (B); her character, "prudery, I hate the hag" (22); her physicality, where he compares her to a race horse with "greasy heels", "stiff joints", and a "heavy rear" (25-6). As well, Pindar criticizes More's "uncharitableness towards the frail ones of her own sex" (18) and also chastises Bishop Porteus for his praise of More. And finally, Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace notes that "the most hostile of More's critics" (89), Edward Spencer, attributes sinister motives to More as she gains power with her evangelical Sunday schools. Like Pindar, he descends to name-calling, labelling More a "female fanatic" (89) and he questions the advisability of a woman having so much power in the church. This degree of indignation reveals two things to modern critics: it shows the extent of More's notoriety and influence; it exposes an underlying fear of change in existing patriarchies within the political, religious, and social institutions of her time. In fact, criticism of More from all sources, including Jacobins, feminists, and conservatives was informed by, and must be viewed within the context of this politically volatile historical period.

Charlotte Yonge attributes More's Blagdon persecution to "the temper of the times" (136). Indeed, in the last

decades of the eighteenth century the political climate was tumultuous. The French Revolution caused much anxiety for the British bourgeoisie who feared that their own lower ranks would follow the French lead and rebel against an inequitable social and economic system. As well, poor climate conditions caused crop failures for two years in the mid-1790s, which placed increased pressure on the poorer ranks of society to survive even harder economic times. Exacerbating all of this was the flow of the rural populace into crowded cities where their new "industrialized" occupations resulted in low positions on the economic scale. They were now dependent upon the sometimes exploitative merchant class for their survival, rather than participating in an interdependent relationship with rural gentry. As well, Innes describes how rates of vagrancy and crime increased after England lost the American war (63). These circumstances resulted in an agitated, potentially explosive lower class.

Meanwhile, the professional middle classes of which "Establishment" intellectuals were a part, felt that the agitation of the lower ranks could be attributed to their reading materials and their morals. Many newly-literate people of the working class were reading Thomas Paine's <u>The Rights of Man</u> and various Jacobin plots within chapbook street literature. As well, middle-class Jacobin "philosophers" like William Godwin were fictionalizing

politics in novels such as Caleb Williams in which Godwin asks, "which was most meritorious, the unresisting and dastardly submission of a slave, or the enterprise and gallantry of the man who dared to assert his claims?" (220). Consequently, readers of the lower ranks became the targets of counter-revolutionary, Establishment writers who believed that middle-class values would be internalized by the lower orders as they read "improved" literature. These writers commenced cultural warfare using literature as a weapon in their attempt to achieve social reform and to prevent rebellion.

The employment of reading material as a cultural weapon during the 1790s was anticipated in the 1780s. Joanna Innes points out that "by the mid-1780s there was not a county in England that had not seen some local activity to repress vice and immorality ...blasphemy, intemperance, idleness, vagrancy, and crime" (68). And one of the most popular institutions for social and moral change was the Sunday school. Hannah More was well known as the founder and administrator of more than a dozen Sunday schools in rural England during this time; she had achieved a reputation for promoting social and moral reform through literacy coupled with religious morality.

More's reputation as a social reformer in her Sunday schools and her success as a politically well-connected author led to her engagement as a cultural warrior on behalf

of the bourgeoisie. For in her early years as an author and playwright, More had earned the notice of several prominent public figures. She was befriended by David Garrick and his wife, Dr. Johnson, Horace Walpole, William Wilberforce, and Bishop Porteus, among others. Since More's father had been born into the gentry but lost his inheritance through a lawsuit, and her mother was from a prosperous farming family, Hannah More was technically a member of the middle ranks, but without an inherited income. Her only income was derived from a small annual stipend which was given to her when her fiancé reneged on marriage. Consequently, it was beneficial for her to circulate within influential political and literary groups where she was "often dependent upon the graces of Johnson, Garrick and others to promote her literary career" (Cole 124). These alliances gave her the opportunity to earn a living, maintain her social position, and generate funding for her projects; she received much financial support from her influential friends for her Sunday schools.

Within this cultural milieu of the mid-1790s, the only "problem" for More as a cultural ideologue was her sex. In the previous decade, some women had been tolerated as intellectuals, in spite of volumes of conduct books by such authors as James Fordyce, which describe women's "pathetic intellects" while "they embroider the entire female character from one trait, softness" (Messer-Davidow 46).

Conservative intellectual women had actively participated in Bluestocking literary salons while their Jacobin counterparts such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Helen Maria Williams had frequented similar salons in France. But because some English women had been linked to Jacobin politics, the impulse to sweep all female authors from positions of rhetorical power was compelling for the elite British bourgeoisie of the mid-1790s. Therefore, when Hannah More designed her Cheap Repository Tract project, she was very careful to promote social and moral reform without compromising her political connections in the male-dominated bourgeois hierarchy. She had to be satisfied with cloaking her gender concerns in order to placate her bourgeois supporters while concurrently exploiting gender-specific strengths. For as Mary Poovey claims of all female authors: "just as the inhibitions visible in her writing constitute a record of her historical oppression, so the work itself proclaims her momentary, possibly unconscious, but effective defiance" (xv).

Although this "defiance" in terms of the number of women writing in the last four decades of the eighteenth century "increased at around 50 percent every decade" (Stanton 248), polemical writing, especially for women became increasingly precarious as the century drew to a close. One significant result of the precariousness of polemical writing for British authors of the 1790s was their

increasing use of fiction as a method to promote a certain political ideology through cultural forms of expression. For although "contradictions exist between the ideal and eternal life the imagination projects and the diminished reality that the earth's limited resources and human morality allow" (Poovey xiv), the political climate of the 1790s necessitated fiction-wrapped ideology; ideology was communicated by using fiction as a form of political rhetoric. For example, as mentioned above, Godwin successfully fictionalized Jacobin politics in Caleb Williams(1794), having narrowly escaped prosecution for his philosophical treatise Enquiry Concerning Political Justice(1793). As well, counter-revolutionary authors including Hannah More turned to fiction as a way to advance their political aims in the battle for cultural hegemony.

Within this culture's conflicting political, social, gender, and literary ideologies, in 1792 Hannah More received a request from her influential friend Bishop Porteus to "write some little thing" for "the lower order of people" which would "tend to open their eyes under their present wild impressions of liberty, and equality" (Roberts I, 525). Porteus knew that More's visits to her mother's rural family and her extensive involvement with the poor and working classes through her Sunday schools, had given her a thorough understanding of the "lower orders". More's letters reveal her reluctance "to become an agent for the

Government," particularly since she felt that politics were "outside a woman's sphere" (Jones 134). However, she believed that the poor, having learned to read in Sunday school, then "fell easy victims not only to the old vulgar chap-book and broad-sheet, but to the new publications of the 'school of Paine' which flooded the country" (Jones 138). And as a member of the influential bourgeoisie, she believed that writing could serve as an agent for the reproduction of bourgeois values within the lower ranks. So she complied with Porteus' request and wrote "in an evil hour" a pamphlet called Village Politics, addressed to "all the mechanics, journeymen and labourers, in Great Britain." More's disgust for this project is evident where she describes it as "vulgar as heart can wish", but says that "it is only designed for the most vulgar class of readers" (Roberts I, 526). She changed publishers in an attempt to remain anonymous.

But Village Politics was an immediate success, in spite of More's misgivings; its success anticipated her much more ambitious Cheap Repository Tracts project two years later. More's publisher informed her that the Village Politics "pamphlets go off greatly, and that the purchasers are people of rank" (Roberts I, 526). This success can be attributed to More's creation of politicized fiction which reveals her understanding of the lower ranks and hints at a possible role for bourgeois reformers. She uses a fictional

village setting, and a working class narrator, "Will Chip, A Country Carpenter"; she constructs a dialogue between two working-class men -- Jack Anvil, a counter-revolutionary blacksmith and Tom Hod, a Jacobin-influenced mason. She promotes three major themes: she attacks the Jacobin "idol, Liberty" (Works, 58), rioting and drinking in an attempt to expose the folly of Jacobin ideology and to suppress vice and rebellion; she promotes domestic order within the lower ranks without disturbing the British class structure; she prescribes middle-class philanthropy with her reference to "the charity school" and her maxim, "let every one mend one" (Works, 58-9). The enthusiastic reception of her politicized fiction by an extensive middle-class readership and its presumed effectiveness as counter-revolutionary propaganda among the lower ranks, led to More's major undertaking of the Cheap Repository Tracts. In 1794, amidst increasing cultural turmoil and growing misogyny, with backing and moral support from influential conservatives and with her record of success in Village Politics, More launched her Repository project, selling an unprecedented two million tracts within the first year.

Why then, if the tracts were so commercially and politically successful as cultural warfare, were many critics reluctant to credit More? Why, as her influence grew and her Repository project expanded between 1795 and 1798, did such a large volume of negative, sometimes

indignant criticism flourish? Is it justified within her cultural milieu? I argue here that More's shifting reformist tactics, as she changes her aims from instructing the poor to reforming the bourgeoisie, account for the bulk of negative reaction to her work. For More's rhetorical adaptability was both her achievement and her nemesis. Her duplicity in disguising her tracts as street literature in order to "fool" the poor, her extremely exaggerated depictions of the poor which insults the poor and misleads the middle-ranks, and the politicized domesticity which she prescribes for the middle ranks, including its feminist and philanthropic components, cause a backlash from both Jacobin and conservative critics.

I examine here More's contribution of fifty tracts to the Repository as a body of politicized fiction with a beginning, a middle and an end, and expose More's three distinct aims for her project: she writes her early tracts as instructions addressed to the poor to counteract street literature and lower-class rebellion; she changes her rhetorical tactics and creates several tracts which are marketable propaganda directed toward the middle-classes -- tracts in which the poor become completely idealized in order to appeal to More's middle-class following; she completes her contribution by creating tracts which politicize domesticity in a way which advocates a heavy

degree of responsibility for the middle ranks and elevates women's social status.

In order to achieve these aims, she first addresses her "improved reading" directly to the lower classes to counteract street literature. She manipulates form, format, fiction, narrative mode, characterization, and representations of domesticity and subjectivity to promote middle-class values in an attempt to prevent rebellion. Secondly, she changes her aims within her early prose tracts, as evidenced by her escalating exaggeration of the poor, in order to enhance the appeal of the tracts for the middle ranks. She increases the price, uses superior paper, and intensifies her attack on the poor through changes in language, characterization, settings of domesticity and treatment of subjectivity. These changes secure for More a following in the middle ranks which is attested to by the Tracts' incredible sales figures. However, with these changes she further antagonizes liberal critics and even some of her conservative colleagues are appalled by her fictional tactics. Thirdly, through changes in format, language, characterization, and subjectivity, she politicizes domesticity, greatly increasing her exploitation of women's domestic calling to construct a new, higher-status female role which includes Christian philanthropy as part of the domestic sphere; she places total social responsibility for their "lowers" upon the middle ranks,

where the poor are "managed" within their social station by women and the bourgeoisie. With these last changes, she creates a counter-feminist backlash from the middle ranks and exacerbates liberal critics' concerns about her static view of the British class structure.

# CHAPTER ONE

## IMPROVED READING

Given her encouraging success with Village Politics, Hannah More designed a plan for her Cheap Repository Project, and began by writing her own contributions. She had two aims in the early verses, ballads and tales: to convince the recalcitrant lower orders of the error of seditious messages contained in Jacobin pamphlets and popular culture's chapbooks and broad-sheets; and concurrently, to reform their morals by encouraging their internalization of Evangelical principles. Bishop Porteus cites her aims as "diffusing among the lower orders of the people an infinity of little religious tracts, calculated to reform and comfort them in this world, and to save them in the next" (Works 1857 Publisher's Address). M.G. Jones calls the tracts "a new type of literature for the inferior classes" (137). Moira Ferguson compares More's Repository with Sarah Trimmer's 1788-89 Family Magazine, calling More's tracts a new and more powerful weapon in the mid-1790s; she states that "Evangelical pro-conversion propaganda cannot mask its counter-revolutionary impact" (217). Hester Piozzi, a fellow Bluestocking, calls More's tracts "antidotes to Tom Paine" (Jones 125). Susan Pedersen feels that merely political explanations of More's aims are "inadequate"; she emphasizes their "evangelical assault on late eighteenth-century popular culture" (87). Gary Kelly agrees that More

tried to "replace the traditional print repertory" and "supplant the orality and face-to-face communality of popular culture" (1987, 151). All of the above viewpoints support the idea that More intended the tracts initially for a lower-class audience.

As preparation for her project, More gathered her own "sans culotte library" (Jones 140) from street hawkers and studied the form, distribution methods, pricing, format and content of popular literature. Her investigation included a study of popular characters such as Mother Bunch and Jack the Giant-Killer, whose stories describe lower-class characters who, through wit or luck, outsmart high-ranking officials of British institutions and rise to the upper ranks of the class structure. More used this literature along with her knowledge of popular cultural pastimes of the lower ranks such as fortune-telling, singing and socializing at the alehouse, to design a body of fiction which would appeal to the lower orders.

More considered carefully both form and format choices in the initial design of this project. First, she chose a form which resembled popular street literature; she used cheap paper, low prices and the same distribution system of street hawkers. However, she augmented distribution in two ways: she advertised on the tracts that generous allowances would be made to distributors; she encouraged middle-class subscribers to distribute the tracts to the lower ranks.

Her biographers note that "shiploads" (Hopkins 212) of these tracts were sent for distribution to the natives of British colonies in the West Indies and Sierra Leone. Secondly, More supports her aim to reach the lower orders with her format choices. She constructs her initial tracts as short verses and ballads; this familiar format allows for quick and easy reading for the newly-literate lower ranks.

But the content of More's early tracts contains a gradual shift in her rhetorical strategy which reflects her aim to move away from a lower-class readership. Although she initially attempts to appeal to the lower orders, gaining their attention through the form and format of her tracts, she turns against them, chastising them gently at first, but becoming increasingly didactic and finally, relentless in her attacks on their customs and beliefs.

This chapter shows how changes in More's use of narrative mode, characterization, fiction, domesticity and subjectivity reveal her shifting aims as she moves away from addressing the lower orders, to addressing the middle ranks. I have divided More's earliest tracts into two segments: verses and ballads in which More attracts lower-class readers through form, format, narrative mode and characterization in order to "win them over" to a middle-class value system; later verses and ballads in which More begins a direct attack on lower-class custom and ideology through changes in her use of narrative mode, language,

characterization, domesticity and subjectivity. This discussion illustrates that More abandons her original intention to provide improved reading for lower ranks long before she admits to writing "Stories For Persons of the Middle Ranks".

## Early Verses and Ballads

In her earliest verses and ballads, More uses a realistically-constructed rural setting from which to speak to her lower-class readers. She employs two types of narration in her address to the lower ranks: she makes extensive use of first-person narratives in a dialogue format; she employs a non-authoritative, third-person narrator. As she had done in Village Politics, she creates dialogue in order to establish a link between the first-person narratives of working-class characters and her working-class readers. In this way she exploits the sociability of the lower orders' oral culture. For example, in a popular verse, Turn the Carpet, the third-person narrator speaks only four lines and the rest of the narration is done by two weavers. In Two Gardeners the narrator speaks only six lines while the working-class gardeners relate the remaining forty-two lines. In Dan and Jane the third-person narrator speaks only eight lines while the remainder of the tract contains a dialogue between husband and wife. This narrative pattern is repeated in only

one ballad tract, The Riot(1795), in which the third-person narrator speaks only two lines while the remainder of the tract is a dialogue spoken by the working-class blacksmith and mason who are already familiar to readers from the earlier Village Politics. These ephemeral, third-person narrators serve only as structural support and have no other significant function in this group of tracts.

In her ballad tracts, More intensifies her narrative efforts to gain the attention of the lower ranks. She writes replacement verses for existing "tunes" and labels other verse tracts as "songs". She uses catchy rhythms and rhyming couplets to draw her readers in. In this way she capitalizes on popular cultural customs of oral and social communication. Coupled with this strategy is a unique narrative technique in two ballad tracts; The Good Militia Man, "a New Song" and The Hackney Coachman, "to the tune of 'I wish I was a fisherman'", are both narrated entirely in first-person mode by lower-class narrators. In the first case, "honest Dan, the plough-boy turned soldier" narrates seventeen four-line stanzas in which he addresses "Sir"; the coachman sings his narrative in forty lines. These two ballads are the only tracts in which intervention by a third-person narrator is nonexistent. However, their effectiveness as appealing, musical versions of middle-class ideology is achieved because More imbues her lower-class narrators with bourgeois values. She incorporates an

authoritative tone into the narratives which sets the speakers apart from their lower-class contemporaries. For example, Dan considers himself to be "unlike the looser herd" (7) in that he does not swear, drink, or boast. He gives "sound and good advice...for each militia man". Likewise, the coachman claims his own exemption from "a riotous multitude" which creates "mischief" and says, "let others get tipsy while I get my fare" (57). Thus, More introduces bourgeois ideology through lower-class characters who, in the above cases, prescribe bourgeois ideology for the lower orders without assistance from a third-person narrator.

More exercises this technique of characterization throughout her early tracts. Since her aim in this group of tracts is to appeal to the lower orders while causing them to internalize bourgeois values, she juxtaposes realistically-drawn lower-class characters who represent lower-class ideology, with more fictionalized lower-class characters who have bourgeois values. Characters who have working and lower-class values exhibit disdain for the law and a disregard for social order; they frequent taverns; they swear; and they have a lottery mentality -- as one of the Two Gardeners says, they "think all good a lucky hit" (52). Against these characters, More juxtaposes others who represent bourgeois values; they have an investment mentality and like the coachman, "waste not a shilling";

they do not drink or swear; they are "poor...honest and very content" (57). Both of these character types are socially representative of the poor or working-classes, such as carpenters, weavers, soldiers, farmers, masons, and blacksmiths. For More knew that working-class readers would more easily identify with characters from their own ranks than with either narrators or characters from the higher ranks. And because she aims to attract her lower-class readers at this point, she uses a minimal degree of fiction. However, the coachman's fictional view of compatibility between "poor" and "very content" is a theme upon which More capitalizes in her later addresses to the bourgeoisie.

In these earliest tracts, More prescribes beliefs about domesticity and subjectivity which reflect middle-class ideology and serve as the crux of her counter-revolutionary message to the lower ranks. In Turn the Carpet, John promotes the benefits of order over Dick's disorderly domestic life with his "brats and sickly wife" (53). In The Riot, More promotes national domestic order which leads to a better home life. Her middle-class representative Jack Anvil says: "those days spent in riot, no bread brought you home" (49). More makes clear that working-class people who have internalized bourgeois ideology have a better domestic life than those who do not.

A second aspect of domestic order which More incorporates in these early tracts and greatly expands upon

later, is the contribution which Christian philanthropy makes to achieving the domestic order of the lower ranks and to maintaining the British class structure. For example, in The Riot Jack assures Tom that "the gentlefolks too will afford us supplies" (50). More also stresses that Christian philanthropy will not raise the working classes above their social stations. She justifies the British class structure with her evangelical version of conditional subjectivity where she allows that although working-class characters have "a soul to be saved" (Coachman 57), and sufficient subjectivity to improve their situation within their own rank, their work on earth will not result in their achieving a higher rank in society. She promotes instead a Christian reward in heaven. For example, Turn the Carpet contains Christian ideology in which a weaver justifies the "workman" (54) on earth achieving divine status in the afterlife. In The Riot, Tom disarms himself and goes immediately "to his work" after Jack convinces him that he can learn "to bear all the wants of the week" (50) at church on Sunday.

Thus, in these tracts at the beginning of More's body of politicized fiction, she treats the lower orders gently in her attempt to communicate with them. With her tracts' story-telling style and sometimes musical form she coats her counter-revolutionary aims with just enough fiction to draw in the lower ranks while she provides limited moral instruction. In this way, she also introduces a politicized

domesticity which depicts domestic order and suggests that a cooperative effort between the middle and lower ranks will be necessary to achieve order. In the next group of tracts More expands upon these ideas and begins to shift toward a new readership.

Later Verses and Ballads

In the second group of More's remaining verse and ballad tracts, that contains all but two tracts which I will discuss at the end of this section, she significantly alters her rhetorical strategy in two ways. First, she changes her use of narrative mode, language, characterization, domesticity, subjectivity and fiction. She begins a direct attack on the customs and beliefs of the lower orders as she moves toward her new aim of addressing the middle ranks. Gary Kelly describes how she "set about attacking not just the shoots of 'Jacobinism', but the roots of popular culture" (1987, 151) in her Tracts. E.P. Thompson, when discussing More and her eighteenth-century bourgeois contemporaries, speaks of "the natural tendency of authority to regard taverns, fairs, any large congregations of people, as a nuisance -- sources of idleness, brawls, sedition or contagion" (57). Concurrently, More begins to develop the idea that social and economic cooperation between the middle and lower ranks of society is necessary for national domestic order. Susan Pedersen says the tracts proposed a

"remaking of the relations between the poor and the powerful" (87). It is here in these verses and ballads that More begins to shift her aims from "winning the poor over" to bourgeois values to outlining a rhetorical strategy for the middle ranks which will lead to their successful control of eighteenth-century culture.

More employs narrative mode differently but maintains her techniques of characterization in this second group of tracts. Here, the third-person narrator takes on a significant role. Where the narrator in the earlier tracts is almost non-existent and is non-authoritative, More's narrator now begins to "speak" with increasing frequency in a more authoritative and incrementally-didactic manner. For example, in the ballad Robert and Richard, More changes her earlier rhetorical strategy by reversing the frequency of dialogue and third-person narrative. Here, the third-person, authoritative narrator relates the majority of the story with dialogue from the first-person interlocutors comprising only a small number of lines. This new-version narrator judges the customs of the lower orders with comments such as "now beggar'd by gaming, distemper'd by drink" (48) as she attacks popular cultural pastimes and customs; she disapproves of drinking, gambling, greed, dishonesty, and impiety. In The Plum Cakes, More intersperses the third-person, authoritative narrator's descriptions and judgemental comments between first-person, working-class

narratives. As before, she maintains her use of two working-class character types -- one type has lower-class values and one type espouses a middle-class value system. More employs both her narrator and her proper-thinking working-class characters to teach a lesson to the lower ranks: they will suffer on earth and beyond if they do not change their ways. In this way, she doubles her didacticism and expands the instructional content of the tracts by adding her authoritative, judgemental, third-person narrator to her cast of lower-class characters who also espouse middle-class ideology.

More follows the appearance of her authoritative, third-person narrator with narrators who evolve into middle-class personas and engage in techniques of language which help to promote middle-class ideology. Her narrative persona serves two purposes simultaneously. First, a moderately-didactic persona addresses the reader directly, establishing communication between the middle-class narrator and the reader. For example, in The Carpenter, More's narrator says "now tell me, reader, if you can" (48). In The Gin Shop the narrator says, "come neighbour, take a walk with me" (51). Secondly, More uses her narrator's direct connection with readers to initiate the transfer of her ideas to a middle-class readership; she appeals to those readers of the middle ranks who are willing to collude with the narrator in acknowledging middle-class ideology. Through this "channel"

to the bourgeois reader, More begins to prepare them for the role which they must eventually play in achieving British domestic order.

More also gives her narrators techniques of language which serve a dual purpose: they enhance the effectiveness of her message for the lower ranks; they demonstrate for bourgeois readers a method of communicating with the lower orders. For example, several tracts end with the narrators reciting bourgeois ideology in short verse; as well, some narrators reiterate the same precept as many as seven times in order to stress a point. For instance, in a broadsheet attached to The Apprentice's Monitor the third-person narrator ends with "The Golden Rule In Verse" which is a six-line stanza of rhyming couplets addressed to "My Son" and which stresses the importance of earthly and heavenly laws. The Carpenter ends with an italicized, four-line, rhyming verse which summarizes the murderous potential of a carpenter who drinks. The narrator ends The Plum Cakes with an eight-line "application" in rhyming couplets, in which she stresses "self-denying moderation" (53). Repetition also emerges from these tracts as a useful method for communicating with the lower orders. In Robert and Richard the narrator ends with and also repeats for the fourth time, "remember the end" (48) as she reminds readers of their inevitable death and God's accompanying judgement. In Patient Joe the narrator reiterates versions of "working

together for good" (50) four times to stress the necessity of an improved relationship between the lower and middle classes. And finally, More's narrator in the verse tract The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor admits directly her aim to "preach" and "teach . . . the good middle way" (11). In this four-part tract, More devotes the entirety of the last part to preaching counter-revolutionary, bourgeois ideology which advocates that all classes maintain their own social stations. She emphasizes the cause of disaster which ensues when one aspires to a different station, where her narrator repeats seven times, versions of "Johnny got in Ruffman's place."

In addition to characterizing her narrators and arming them with pragmatic techniques of language, More augments her attack on the lower orders' value system with her treatment of domesticity and women's roles within the domestic sphere. She paints a dismal picture of domestic disorder which stems from the above-mentioned vices of the lower orders. For example, in The Market Woman; or Honesty is the Best Policy, More depicts a fraudulent, drinking, impious woman who is "brought at length to public shame" (21) and loses her domestic affections when her husband then leaves her. Another example of domestic disorder occurs in The Roguish Miller; or, Nothing Got By Cheating. Here, a cheating, drinking, impious miller ends up in jail. The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, or, The Folly of Going Out of Our

Own Element depicts a trader who tries to live a life of freedom from domestic order on the seas, and loses his domestic affections when his family drowns. The titles of these three tracts also anticipate the disastrous domestic consequences for those who do not aspire toward a law-abiding existence within their own social station. The lower ranks, by this time, would perhaps find both the titles of these tracts and their content unappealing.

More also prescribes roles for women within the lower orders' domestic sphere in these final verse tracts. Specifically, in The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor More's narrator describes John's wife as simple, dutiful, devout and a skilful "guide" of her household. She takes part in helping her husband with his business but her "chief and special care" (13) is to be a nurturing, caring wife to her husband. More constructs their daughter as "prompt and obedient, obliging, humble, meek and mild," and "vastly useful in the house" (14) and shop. John's mother as well is involved in running his shop, is affectionate toward her son, helps the cook, and shares her life's experiences each night from her "elbow chair" (18) in the fashion of popular oral culture.

In accordance with More's eighteenth-century cultural milieu, her attack on revolutionary thinking at the end of this tract necessarily engulfs women. She implies that women who "make free to mix," who "try their hand in politics," or

who "talk as grand as Fox or Pitt" (30) will meet an untimely end just as John's daughter does when she tries to steer the ship "as if she were a man" (27). More's pragmatism in including these statements about women's roles only partially veils the fact that readers are learning from within a politicized genre from a female author. As well, although she makes clear that a woman's role is different from a man's, she allows women in her fictional domestic sphere to work at the "business" of domesticity; they do not spend all of their time isolated in their homes. An earlier example of this participatory domestic role occurs in The Hackney Coachman where he claims that his wife "keeps a sausage shop." The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor marks the beginning of More's construction of a new female role which is essential for domestic order and which necessarily elevates the importance of women's participation in creating and maintaining an orderly national domesticity.

Throughout this second group of tracts, More continues to employ working-class characters and to depict working-class situations in order to promote middle-class ideology within the lower orders. As mentioned earlier though, she has already introduced the idea of cooperation between ranks as a precursor to British domestic order. This theme gains momentum in this section of More's verse and ballad tracts. Here, she begins to weave together the lives of the lower and middle ranks, showing how multi-class involvement

creates domestic order. For instance, in The Honest Miller More writes, "the lord or squire of high degree is needful to the state" (56) while the miller's trade is labelled "useful sure as can on earth be found" (56). In The Rougish Miller, the "farmer, the squire and the parson" (Hazard) are equally responsible for bringing the lawless miller to justice. And in Patient Joe, the uncooperative collier, Tim Jenkins, dies as a result of his unwillingness to join others in "working together for good" (50).

The cooperation which More depicts here is predicated on her assumption that the lower orders are capable of achieving a controllable degree of subjectivity. She attributes a minimal degree of subjectivity to the lower ranks in these tracts for two reasons. First, if they have no subjectivity as many of the bourgeoisie believe of them, then they are not capable of reform or cooperation. By giving them subjectivity, More raises their status from "vulgar" people to redeemable "souls" who have the ability to exercise their subjectivity to internalize middle-class, counter-revolutionary ideology and thereby cooperate with the bourgeoisie in maintaining social order. Secondly, by attributing subjectivity to her lower class characters, More is then able to place blame for disorder directly upon those of the lower orders who do not internalize middle-class ideology. This makes the job of cooperation easier for both ranks, since the "disorderly" become a common target for the

bourgeoisie and the "converted" lower ranks alike. The best illustration of More's treatment of subjectivity in this group of tracts is The Gin Shop. In this tract she blames the "drunkard" for stealing his "children's daily bread" (51) and states that the "great man" of the gentry will be able to discern the undeserving from "the deserving poor" when he "relieves. . . with liberal hand" (51) those who manifest bourgeois values of thrift, intemperance and piety. This tract, especially, reinforces the idea of philanthropy flowing from the middle ranks toward only those of the lower ranks who cooperate by using their subjectivity to choose middle-class, orderly behaviour. Thus, More's attack on the vices of the lower orders and her prescription for cooperation between the ranks including philanthropy are encompassed within her treatment of subjectivity.

More's increasingly didactic use of fiction also abets her aim to write for a middle-class readership. While it is realistic that the lower orders are readily penalized for breaking the law and that some of the poor drink, gamble, and use profanity, More now discards her original intention to convince them gently, but firmly, to adopt middle-class ideology. Rather, she applies an increasing degree of fiction to her construction of enlightened and unenlightened lower-class characters and their situations. These more unconvincing and unflattering depictions of the lower ranks would not be palatable to lower-class readers. For example,

in Patient Joe More fictionalizes the Biblical story of Job for the benefit of her Christian, middle-class readers. She constructs a stoic miner who willingly accepts a series of hardships because he has internalized middle-class values such as a work ethic and Christian values such as trusting in God's will. More carries his stoicism to the point of disbelief. Against this enduring character More juxtaposes a fellow miner who displays all vices, scoffs at Joe's uprightness, and dies in one ironic view because he refuses to conform to middle-class, Christian ideology. In Chapter Two of this paper, we will see that More continues to employ fiction incrementally as she creates a series of prose "Tales For The Common People." Although titled as an address to the masses, these tracts contain highly-unrealistic characterizations and situations which indicate that More has abandoned her original intention to communicate with the lower orders. Instead, her intention to promote the leadership of the middle ranks in attaining British domestic order is clear.

But before moving into the next section of tracts in Chapter Two, this discussion of More's verse and ballad tracts would be incomplete without a mention of two tracts in which she veers away from her major fictional strategies. In the midst of her Cheap Repository project she writes two tracts, using highly-intellectual language, which reveal briefly the nature of her purposive evangelism. Each of

these exceptions is aimed exclusively at the middle ranks as evidenced by its language, its theme and in one case, its date. A Hymn of Praise; For The Abundant Harvest of 1796, After a Year of Scarcity can be dated at either late 1796 or early 1797 which is well after More has ceased to address lower-class readers. She uses sophisticated language in this verse which would be beyond the easy level of newly-literate readers. The Day of Judgement; or, The Grand Reckoning is the second exception. As in her Hymn, the narrator of this tract uses elevated language to promote the common plight of all members of earthly society. Although the date of this second verse is undetermined, More's use of elevated language indicates that it, too, is aimed at an intellectual audience. More's fully developed, thematic promotion of the common bond between rich and poor is also an indicator that these two verses were probably written much later than her other verses and ballads in which this theme was in its infancy. For here, she deals openly with the evangelical underpinnings of her project.

The language, time, and thematic indicators give these two tracts an anachronistic quality. Clearly, they are different from More's other verse and ballad tracts which are moving incrementally toward what is already achieved in these verses. Possibly, she returned to the verse form later in her plan, or, she interrupted temporarily her fictional strategies to reveal the strong religious convictions which

are an integral part of her middle-class ideology. Another possibility is that the sharp contrast of these two tracts with the rest of the verse tracts reminds intellectual readers that More's tracts are carefully designed, polemical fiction in which she promotes counter-revolutionary ideology which is for her inseparable from Christian ideology. We will see in Chapter Two how More again increases her use of fiction in the next set of tracts; she uses it as a tactical weapon to advance her aims.

# CHAPTER TWO

## MARKETABLE PROPAGANDA

More's early prose tales were later labelled as "Tales For The Common People." They are described in the "Advertisement" to Strachan's 1801 Edition of her works as intended "to improve the habits, and raise the principles of the common people. . . not only to counteract vice and profligacy. . . but error, discontent and false religion." This advertisement implies that readers of any "common" social class would find these tales appealing enough to read them. And while More is ostensibly still addressing the lower orders, we have seen that her rhetorical strategies indicate that she is moving away, in her verse and ballad tracts, from material which would appeal to a lower-class readership. This Chapter illustrates how four of More's early prose tales reveal her intensified and expanded attack on the lower social orders and provides evidence that she is addressing exclusively a middle-class audience.

In this group of four "tales" which includes <u>The Lancashire Collier Girl</u>, <u>Betty Brown, The St. Giles Orange Girl: With Some Account of Mrs. Sponge, The Money Lender</u>, <u>Black Giles The Poacher</u>, and <u>Tawney Rachel; or, The Fortune Teller: With Some Account of Dreams, Omens and Conjurors</u>, More uses catchy chapbook-style titles which describe working-class characters. However, educated readers by this point know that the tracts are written for and bought by

bourgeois readers. If lower-class readers were lured initially by these titles, at their first read they would have found them unappealing. For although More retains her story-telling style along with her chapbook-style titles in this group of tracts, she increased the price of the tracts and upgraded the paper on which they were printed. It is doubtful that "the poor" could have afforded to buy them after these changes. It is even more doubtful that they would have appreciated More's heightened use of fiction in her characterizations of the lower-classes and her direct attacks on popular cultural customs. Many indicators signal that More addresses a bourgeois audience. She continues to employ increasingly didactic, third-person narrators who espouse bourgeois ideology and who communicate directly with readers of the middle ranks. She changes her techniques of characterization where she includes a greater number of middle-class characters who espouse their rank's ideology and a greater number of female characters, including female protagonists, in order to expand the domestic role of women. As well, More intensifies her attack on lower-class customs and beliefs through a dramatic increase in the fictionalization of lower-class characters and plots for two reasons: first, to engage, at the expense of the lower ranks, her middle-class readers with imaginative "tales" about the customs and values of the lower classes and

secondly, to instruct the bourgeoisie in methods of reform.

Early Prose Tales

The narrative style in each of the first two, gentler tales, The Collier Girl and Betty Brown, is somewhat similar. The narrator of The Collier Girl consists of a melodramatic, third-person narrative persona who makes frequent remarks directly to readers in an attempt to commiserate with them in an engaging way while she instructs them in methods of lower-class reform. For example, she exclaims, "but alas!" (25) as a preface to relating a tragic death; she then mollifies her narrative with, "to relieve the pain of my reader, I will here remark" (26). She also asks questions of "young female readers" (27) which are prefaced with "do you suppose" or "do you imagine?" (27). This constant interruption of the story, with each intervention, suspends More's fictional lower-class world for the reader. With this narrative technique More forces readers to become self-conscious of her fictional, disorderly lower-class world so that she can call their attention to her methods of reform. The Collier Girl ends with ideological instruction in the form of "useful lessons" (35), in which the narrator suggests with limited didacticism ways to "teach all descriptions of persons" (36), how to bring about a unified, domestic order by

adhering to the values of the middle ranks, including More's Christian tenets. Her prescriptions include "some degree of independence" (35) for the poor and philanthropy for the higher ranks. More's narrator also reiterates her evangelical justification for the static nature of each rank within the class structure and calls for all persons to "do their duty in that state of life, unto which it hath pleased God to call them" (36).

Although the narrative persona functions in a similar way in Betty Brown, the melodrama disappears and the narration is shared with lower and middle-class characters in a dialogue format. Here, the narrator is less expressive where she addresses the reader. In one example she says "I shall only just remark here" (247). The narrator's interventions, however, still function to suspend fiction temporarily. More replaces the emotional aspect of the third-person narrative persona with techniques of language. She uses maxims and rhetorical sarcasm which are easily recognized by her educated bourgeois readers. One example is the narrator's italicized, modified Biblical maxim, "never do that to another which you would not have another do to you" (248). She also uses the sarcastic, "good friend" (248) to describe the naive Betty Brown's extorting, conniving exploiter, Mrs. Sponge the money lender. Another example of More's narrator "tapping in" to middle-class readers is her brief reference to the "gentry. . . in a drunken frolic"

(248). Here, More emphasizes the decadent domestic state of the gentry, leaving readers to conclude that the values of the middle-classes which she prescribes in the tracts are the only values which will bring about an orderly society.

More constructs an increased number of middle-class characters of both genders to assist her narrative personas with the reformation of the lower orders. For example, a "lady" in each of The Collier Girl and Betty Brown helps to "rescue" the young, female protagonist from her rank's chaotic domestic disorder and converts her to bourgeois ideology. In Betty Brown More constructs a dialogue in first-person mode between the lady and Betty. In order to support the reformative effort in this tale, More adds a homilizing magistrate who also advises Betty in a lengthy dialogue with her. These characters and their dialogue represent More's fictionalization of the type of communication and cooperation between the middle and lower ranks which will be necessary in order to achieve domestic order and bourgeois hegemony.

In addition to including lower-class, female protagonists who come to exemplify middle-class values and more female characters of the middle ranks, More begins here to expand the domestic role of both genders of the middle ranks to include philanthropy which is provided only to cooperative members of the lower orders. In The Collier Girl, More's narrator points out that "parish officers are

obliged" by law "to give maintenance" (27) to the poor, but she places parameters around philanthropy as the magistrate reveals when he describes how to enact charity by helping any of the poor who "chuse to exert themselves" (35). More also refers obliquely in Betty Brown to The Philanthropic Society which had not been established when Betty was in need of it. The implication here is that middle-class philanthropy from the Society could have prevented Betty's misfortunes. The "lady" character type mentioned above is an example of More's expanded philanthropic role for women. While the narrative persona ends The Collier Girl with "lessons" in middle-class ideology, in Betty Brown the "lady's" philanthropy includes lessons for Betty about how to emulate the middle-classes as well as pragmatic financial advice about earning a living where she relates "Rules for Retail Dealers" to her protégée. The type of philanthropy described in these tales with its limited application to only the "deserving" poor as well as the suggestion for a limited, but improved economic position through the assimilation of a middle-class "investment mentality" marks the beginning of More's deliberate address to both genders of the middle ranks regarding their responsibilities for reformation of the domestic sphere.

A final point which arises from an examination of these two tales is More's dramatic increase in her use of the extraordinary, particularly as it applies to the lower

ranks. She exaggerates the hardship and stoic endurance of Mary, the collier girl, who at nine years of age "like a little independent woman" (27) goes to work in a mine "without excusing herself on account of her sex" (29). She suffers through the death of her father, a mother whose mind is "disordered" and whom Mary supports for seven years until her death; she nurses two sick brothers until their deaths; she refuses to accept charity to help her support "all these relations" (29), instead working double shifts in the mine. But most fictionalized is Mary's "conversion" of her fellow miners after which they exhibit polite, middle-class language and behaviour in her presence. The narrator uses this "conversion" as a lesson for middle-class readers who believe the lower ranks to be unredeemable. The narrative persona says "this rule of decency and propriety towards young women, established by a set of coarse miners, is here recorded for the benefit of those persons, who are pleased to call themselves their betters" (35). In this way More uses fiction as a weapon of cultural warfare to teach the middle ranks the potential for domestic reform of the lower orders. And although More constructs Mary, in The Collier Girl, as manifesting the apparently "feminist" quality of independence, she, like Nancy in More's earlier tale, Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, wrongly carries out her part in society "as a man." As a consequence of her brave but mistaken independence, Mary is eventually "enfeebled" (33)

and then assisted upward(?) to a more socially-acceptable position which is controlled by the middle ranks. The narrator reveals that Mary's reward for her exhausting but inappropriately-enacted efforts is a "comparatively easy and comfortable situation" (33) as a lady's servant. Here, More brings home for readers the lesson that the worst situation of a deserving lower-class person can be cured with middle-class philanthropy as evidenced in her fictional world.

More uses a large dose of exaggeration in Betty Brown as well to depict the disorder of lower-class life and to highlight the effectiveness of middle-class philanthropy when it is applied to those who are "desirous of improvement" (250). For example, Betty is said to "crawl up out of a night cellar" (247) and eventually becomes the victim of the scurrilous Mrs. Sponge. More's "lady," however, approves of Betty as deserving where she notices that Betty is not lazy and does not drink, just as the "lady" approves of Mary, the collier girl. But unlike Mary, Betty Brown displays an "utter ignorance of good and evil" (247). More constructs her as an empty vessel into which the middle-class philanthropist need only pour her own ideology with an immediate effect. Thus, this heavily-fictionalized malleable character is able to rise to limited independence as a sausage shopkeeper, surpassing Mary's servant status. More reminds us at the end of this tale that she has already created an ideal situation to ensure Betty's domestic

orderliness where Betty marries "that very hackney-coachman" (250) from More's earlier ballad tract.

Although More carries forward her connection between domestic order and middle-class philanthropy and continues to increase her use of fiction in the next two tales, she provides a clue to another change in her literary tactics where she attacks directly lower-class ideology and subjectivity in Betty Brown. Two instances are noteworthy: first, the philanthropic, middle-class "lady" states that "by leaving the use of spirits, and the company in which you drink them, your health, your morals, and your condition will mend" (249). In this reference, the lady is satisfied with accomplishing the first step in her reformation of Betty; she emphasizes only the expense of drinking and not the sin of it. However, in a second reference, she maligns the lower-class lottery mentality whereby they rely on luck or chance rather than their own initiative, and in so doing, she takes her reformation of Betty one step further. She says, "there is no such thing as chance and we offend God when we call that luck or chance which is brought about by his will and pleasure" (250). Thus, Betty Brown is the first tract in which a reformable lower-class character is almost devoid of subjectivity. She is converted through the step-by-step guidance of the middle-class philanthropist to a bourgeois ideology and beyond that, to God's will. Her lower-class lottery mentality is replaced by an equally

disenfranchising middle-class ideology, and is justified by Providence. We will see in the next two tales that More escalates her attack on the lower orders in a concentrated effort to educate the bourgeoisie to the dangers of "things as they are" (Godwin) in the lower ranks, and to the possibility of successful philanthropic reform which will bring order to the lower ranks and cultural control to the bourgeoisie.

In her next two tales, in order to stimulate the need for reform which must be conducted by More's middle-class contemporaries, More exaggerates greatly "things as they are" within a representative lower-class family as a way of intensifying her attack on the customs and beliefs of the lower orders. In Black Giles the Poacher: Containing Some Account of A Family Who Had Rather Live By Their Wits Than Their Work and in Tawney Rachel; or, The Fortune Teller: With Some Account of Dreams, Omens and, Conjurors, More alters the language of her narrative persona, her characterizations, and she greatly increases her use of hyperbole in order to emphasize the domestic disorder, gambling, deception, laziness, and mistaken superstitions of this family. She relates these tales through a lofty narrative persona who calls herself a "faithful historian" (254) implying that she is an objective observer. But her narrative style contradicts this implication; she reveals the judgemental nature of her narrative when she says of

Giles and his family "I am sorry to expose their tricks, but it is their fault, not mine" (254). More's narrative persona then uses language in three ways which reveals her authority over the lower orders and her disdain for lower-class customs: prophetic axioms and maxims; ridicule through sarcasm; and derogatory adjectives and nouns. She says, "poaching is a regular apprenticeship to bolder crimes"; "detection will sooner or later, follow the best concerted villainy" (252); "a tile in time saves nine" (251). She ends Black Giles with a review of the ten commandments, adding God's authoritative maxims to her narrator's axioms. Secondly, disdain for the lower orders is expressed through the narrative persona's use of sarcasm. For example, in Black Giles she ridicules through imagery and italics the poor children's "tumbling" (251) as they entertain visitors at their gate; she states that "such tricks are a kind of apprenticeship to the trades of begging and thieving." She again uses sarcasm when she reveals that "as soon as they grew too big for the trade of begging at the gate, they were promoted to the dignity of thieves on the moor" (251). Similarly, in Tawney Rachel, the narrative persona describes Rachel sarcastically as "this sun-burnt oracle of wisdom" (260). More also adds irony by giving Black Giles a dialect; he speaks in the Biblical language of "thee" and "thou goest", emphasized by exclamation points, to show readers that Giles' inappropriate attempt to speak in the elevated

language of pious, right-thinking individuals is yet another example of theft by this miscreant. In addition to this narrative denigration, lower-class characters as well denigrate themselves through language. For example, "poor" Sally Evans gushes over "the wonderful power of fortune-tellers" (261) setting herself up for a fall which readers know will ensue.

The third way in which More's narrative persona uses language, a plethora of derogatory adjectives and nouns, expands greatly More's fictionalization of the lower orders. This expansion, in turn, points toward the necessity for reform of the lower orders in the minds of middle-class readers. More employs this method in these two tales to attack lower-classes through their appearance, domestic habit, customs (which include drinking, singing, and gambling), and reliance on luck, chance or fortune. For instance, she caricatures the children as "little idle creatures," as "a whole covey of little scarecrows," and as "ragged brats," who have "dirty faces, matted locks and naked feet and legs (251). She labels Giles as "Black," "cunning" (251), "ignorant," and "depraved" (258). She describes Rachel as "a wretched [domestic] manager" (253) who pawns her son's shoes for a bottle of gin. This husband and wife live in a domestic environment which includes "broken windows stuffed with dirty rags," "ragged tiles on the roof" and "loose stones" (251) on the chimney. Their

customs include the selling of "very wicked ballads" (Rachel 261). As well, More's persona attacks vigorously the lower-class lottery mentality. She refers repeatedly to their belief in luck or fate rather than their own agency to change their situation, and mocks other superstitions of popular culture concerning dreams and moles. For example, dialogues within Tawney Rachel contain six references to luck: Sally Evans' "how lucky it was you dreamt it so late; a lucky week; unlucky days; a lucky one; an unlucky colour' and in the last line of the tract "no days unlucky." "Fate" is also repeated in various forms thirteen times throughout this tale. Thus, More creates for her narrator and her lower-class characters language which augments both her denigration and fictionalization of the lower ranks.

In contrast to the above examples of degenerate lower-class beliefs and customs, More creates in these two tales stereotypes of the deserving poor whose "neatness, housewifery and a decent appearance. . . draw the kindness of the rich and charitable" (Black Giles 251). In opposition to descriptive denigration and sarcasm, More's narrative persona uses enumeration to convey a pathetic realism to her acceptable lower-class representatives. For instance, in Black Giles "old widow Brown" has a "little flannel cloak" and the "bit of an old mat," "a little broth," "a small orchard," "a couple of barrels of cider," and "a little keg." The charitable middle-class characters who assist

these deserving poor include Mr. Wilson, a "worthy minister" (252) and "upright justice" (253) who is a prime example of More's maintaining the connection between the laws of God and country in these more heavily-idealized tales. But unlike the "lady" in The Collier Girl and Betty Brown tales, More's "worthy" minister acts as a representative of both church and state, for he rescues and instructs the deserving poor.

As she did in the first two tales, More creates here dialogue between the middle and lower-class characters. But she changes the intensity of the dialogue in Black Giles and Tawney Rachel. Here she creates a pattern of dialogue in which a point, counter-point, logical, persuasive argument shows the "reformer" persuading the deserving, reformable lower-class character who has an appropriate portion of subjectivity, to adopt middle-class ideology. The best example of this tightly-woven dialogic pattern appears at the end of Black Giles where Mr. Worthy "reforms" Dick Giles, the son of Black Giles the rat-catcher. Dick exemplifies throughout this dialogue the newly-malleable, easily-convinced, lower-class character who manifests only enough subjectivity to conform to middle-class ideology, a subjectivity which More introduced in a less specific way in Betty Brown.

A stock-taking of More's evolving aims and rhetorical strategies is warranted before we proceed in Chapter Three

to examine the three prose tales which exemplify both her literary achievement and her critical nemesis. In Chapter Two we have seen that More shifts her literary tactics, revealing her new aim to address only the middle ranks. She has abandoned her initial aim for her tracts, instructing the potentially-revolutionary poor, and has re-tailored her work to appeal to the bourgeoisie. We can see that More has also incorporated and demonstrated another aim; she rhetorically constructs a role for the middle-ranks to play in reforming the lower orders, including some instruction about how to play this role. She has begun to depict the cooperation which is necessary between the lower and middle ranks for achieving domestic order in Britain.

More's evolving aims are evident in three ways through significant changes in her use of form and format; her combination of narrative mode, characterization and subjectivity; and her centring on domesticity which she depicts through her use of fiction and language. First, we know that she changed the form and format of her tracts. Initially, she creates mimetic verses and ballads in keeping with the street literature which appeals to the newly-literate working classes. She parallels the popular chapbook and broadsheet form, low price and widespread availability through familiar distributors which indicates that she directs them toward a lower-class readership. A greater demand for the tracts from the higher ranks resulted in

More's upgrading her paper quality and increasing the price of the tracts in order to respond to and stimulate the demand from the bourgeoisie and in many instances, the aristocracy. This change in her strategy was also an attempt to offset the financial losses which had resulted from the initial low selling price of the tracts. Secondly, we have seen that More's use of narrative mode, characterization and subjectivity has evolved to reflect her new aims of addressing a middle-class audience. She begins her tracts with a third-person, objective narrator who serves only as structural support for working-class, first-person narrative dialogue, and in the case of The Hackney Coachmen, the third-person narrator disappears altogether. More's early narrative strategy was evident immediately in her first tract, Village Politics. But, by the point at which she creates her early prose tracts which she labels later as "Tales for the Common People," we have seen that she is already addressing only the middle-ranks with an authoritative, increasingly-didactic, middle-class narrative persona. As well, she has added middle-class characters who assist the narrator with the reformation of the lower ranks. The narration in these verse and ballad and early prose tales has changed from the gently-chastising, story-telling narrator who uses lessons and indirect arguments in More's verse and ballad tracts, to a middle-class character, Mr. Wilson, who represents both church and state where he

conducts a catechetical argument to reform a deserving, lower-ranked character in Black Giles. The appearance of the "worthy" middle-class characters and the "lady" who assists the authoritative narrator and their interaction with the lower ranks using axioms, homilies and divine maxims, clarifies More's intention to outline rhetorically a plan for reformation of the lower ranks. This plan shows lower-class characters who display a limited subjectivity as objects of the middle ranks. The above two alterations of More's literary tactics assure us that her initial attempt to "win over" the lower ranks has been abandoned.

A third change in More's rhetorical strategy occurs within her early prose tales where she increases her use of fiction and alters her language to caricature the lower classes, their customs and their domestic disorder. For in Black Giles and Tawney Rachel More depicts an extreme level of domestic disorder -- a disorder which is designed to stimulate the need for active reform. The domestic disorder in More's early verse tracts such as The Carpenter, or, the Danger of Evil Company anticipates a much more fictionalized domestic disorder in Black Giles and Tawney Rachel. Where the Carpenter is misled by "evil company" he is reformed when his good wife analogizes a man's drinking as murder-by-starvation for his family and in this way, domestic order is restored. But in the Giles family More constructs domestic chaos through the caricaturing of her

lower-class characters, through techniques of language and through her much-intensified use of fiction. We have seen that she exaggerates their environment, habits and beliefs and employs techniques of language such as sarcasm and a plentiful array of derogatory nouns and adjectives. We have also seen that More develops her theme of "poor. . . and very content" deserving, lower-class characters which she introduced in The Hackney Coachman, when she employs enumerative language in Black Giles to attribute a pathetic realism to a far more fictionalized "old widow Brown."

Having seen this evidence of More's shifting rhetorical strategies within these verse, ballad and early prose tracts, we are in a position at this point to speculate on some of the critical observations of the Introduction with regard to Hannah More's aims for her Cheap Repository Tracts. We can agree with Gary Kelly's view that More's tracts are, among other things, "anti-Jacobin fiction." We also know that they were only briefly addressed to the potentially-rebellious lower ranks. For the increased demand from the upper and middle-ranks for More's tracts surprised her at first, but eventually led to her changing her aim from instructing the poor, to her shrewd, much more ambitious aim to instruct and then reform her own middle-ranks of society. If she could maintain their interest, they would be able to use the role which More constructs for them: to bring counter-revolutionary domestic order into the

lives of all of the lower ranks by moulding the lower ranks into images of themselves. Also arising from this examination of More's project to this point is evidence of her "condescension" toward the lower ranks, of which Mary Waldron speaks. But we have seen that her depiction of the lower orders so far is intentionally and increasingly exaggerated; she does not address the poor through her fictional characterization of them -- she addresses the conservative middle ranks of society who already hold counter-revolutionary beliefs which include maintaining the current class structure. Her intention is to stimulate the need for reform within the middle-ranks and only by appealing to them can she expand her readership. Rather than condescension toward the poor which would constitute "cheap shots," in rhetorical cultural warfare, More employs trenchant tactics where she exploits the bourgeoisie's view of the lower orders. She capitalizes on her knowledge of both ranks to create a potent, pathetically-real fantasy. The fact that it is distorted is intentional on More's part. We will see in Chapter Three how More exploits in the next three "Tales For The Common People" her linguistic technique of pathetic realism, among others, to explode fiction. In doing so, More secures an even wider following amongst the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and further incurs the wrath of Jacobin critics who are sympathetic to the cause of equality for "The Common People."

# CHAPTER THREE

## TRENCHANT TACTICS

More dramatically changes her rhetorical strategies in three Common People tracts: The History of Tom White, the Post Boy, Two Shoemakers, and The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain. Her narrative pattern, in which she balances fictional engagement with didactic instruction, reveals her three aims: to engage her middle-class readers by constructing a highly-fictionalized "world" through techniques of characterization and language; to persuade her middle-class readers that cultural hegemony is possible through their manipulation of the subjectivity of the lower orders; and to introduce through changes in her treatment of language, characterization, and domesticity a workable method of creating domestic order within British culture.

More's use of a fantasized milieu and exaggerated cultural stereotypes to depict lower class culture and characters evokes a comment from her biographer, Charlotte Yonge. Yonge says of The Shepherd tract that it "incidentally reveals many curious facts about the condition of the poor" (130). But the "condition" of More's fictional poor is not in any way "incidental." For in the final three "Tales For The Common People" More increases greatly her use of exaggeration and employs techniques of characterization and language to depict deliberately, completely-virtuous "poor" but "very content" lower-class characters, within a

fantasized lower-class milieu. In this way she reverses her earlier applications of fiction. Rather than centring on the disorderly domestic world of the lower orders as she did in Black Giles and Tawney Rachel, More focuses instead on ideally-contented, reformed characters who exemplify middle-class, Christian values. As well, she represents the lower orders in a way which diminishes their subjectivity, depicting lower class characters whose expectations of equality with higher social stations are erased and whose subjections to God and their bourgeois leaders is accomplished. With this deliberate use of fiction, More transports her middle-class readers into a fictional "world" by inflating her "stories" with enough fiction to explode them, a device which exposes her underlying intention to first engage, and then to instruct her readers. She forces her middle-class readers to become self-conscious of her method which, in turn, obliges them to examine their own social reality which they know is diametrically opposed to the "world" which More describes. In this way readers are encouraged to perceive the need for the reformation of the domestic sphere.

Tactical Weapons: Fiction, Subjectivity, Domesticity

As one way of alerting her readers to the "conditions of the poor" in her later prose tales, More fictionalizes her culture's institutions -- the medical and justice

systems -- as they pertain to the lower orders. She employs her narrative persona to make obviously false claims. For example, she says that Tom White is taken to "one of those excellent hospitals with which London abounds," and then gives thanks for the "mercy" that "the poor, when sick, or lame, or wounded, are taken as much care of as the gentry" (225). More's narrator rationalizes these fictional statements with an equally-improbable argument. She describes the "advantage" of the poor as she notes the increased availability of doctors and surgeons in the hospital as compared to the singular doctor who provides individualized medical care to the "private gentlefolks" (225). More repeats her narrator's argumentative technique later in Tom White where Dr. Shepherd, the minister, claims that Sarah White's home remedy for a workman's injury is superior to the care of "a surgeon" to which a "bountiful rich man would have sent him" (231). Clearly, More depicts deliberately an unrealistic view of the availability and the benefits of medical care for the poor. Her middle-class readers either know that adequate medical treatment is not available for the poor, or they have not thought about the type of medical care which is given to the lower orders.

In contrast to More's method of alerting her readership to the plight of the poor, is Mary Wollstonecraft's more realistic view of the 1790s medical institutions in her Jacobin novel The Wrongs of Woman(1798). Wollstonecraft

bases her fiction on the actual hospitals of her time, such as Bedlam. She points out in her story that hospital access for the poor rests on their ability to pay an entrance fee and that fees are also required in order for them to receive clean linen while they are hospitalized. Where Wollstonecraft's depiction of 1790s hospitals is more realistic, More's hyperbolic fiction is designed to awaken the consciences of her middle-class readers so that they will examine and question the social realities of the lower orders.

More also depicts her culture's judicial system in a fictional, idealized way. For instance, in Two Shoemakers the narrator describes Jack Brown's jailor in terms which convey an unlikely image. The jailor is said to be "an honest, kind-hearted man" (215). Contrastingly, in Godwin's Jacobin fiction Caleb Williams, which is based on the actual prison of Newgate, he attributes the opposite characteristics to Caleb's jailors. Again, when set against the fiction of her cultural "opponents," More's fiction is more exaggerated in order to exacerbate her aim to stimulate her middle-class readers' consciousness of their culture's social realities.

More employs techniques of language and characterization to fictionalize the physical effects of poverty and also to portray the decreased subjectivity of the lower orders. For example, in The Shepherd she first

uses her earlier linguistic technique of "pathetic realism" to describe the Shepherd's children and his family's living conditions. "A fine plump cherry-cheek little girl. . . with a smile on her face" (193) is an unlikely character in any poverty-stricken family which lives only on potatoes and bread. Nor would her brother appear as a "little rosy-faced fellow" (197). As well, the Shepherd's description of his family's living conditions precedes his incredible acceptance of such conditions and confirms his minimal subjectivity. The pathetic situation of ten people living in a "hovel" with a roof which allows rain to "beat down" onto the Shepherd and his wife while they are "a-bed" immediately precedes the Shepherd's claim that his "cottage is a palace" when compared to "prisons and dungeons" (192). His wife's "violent fit of the rheumatism" (194) and "the pinching cold which cramps" his children's "poor little limbs" (193) are fictionally outdone by his minimization of near starvation where he says that he "endeavours to live upon the promises" (194) of a rewarding eternal life in heaven. Here, we see that More recreates her earlier linguistic technique of pathetic realism in a more exaggerated form for this group of tracts "for the common people." She now uses this technique to fictionalize the suffering but accepting poor so that her readers will not only become conscious of the conditions of the poor but will also accept the idea that the lower orders can be convinced to reject, in the words of

the Shepherd, "that nonsensical notion about equality" (194). Through her extensive use of fiction, and the above techniques of language and characterization, More deliberately forces her bourgeois readers to "see" the opposite of that which she depicts -- the realities of 1790s life for the potentially-rebellious lower classes.

More embellishes her depiction of the lower orders' "manageable" subjectivity and justifies their subordination to the middle ranks for the benefit of her readership. She attributes child-like qualities to her reformed lower-class characters since she characterizes the Shepherd and his wife with effusive sensibility; both cry tears of joy and gratitude throughout the tract. The result of this rhetorical technique is that middle-class readers regard these characters as they would children; but because they are orderly and are cooperating with their middle-class leaders they are able to be converted into agents of ideological reform. More justifies the Shepherd's and his wife's subordination to Mr. Johnson and Mr. Jenkins as predetermined by Providence; her insistence on evangelical predeterminism prevents More from showing significant upward social mobility in her tracts. In this tale particularly, More uses religion as a substitute for social equality in keeping with her evangelical beliefs and her political aspiration for bourgeois hegemony over British culture.

As well as depicting the fictional, submissive subjectivity of the lower ranks, More uses Romantic subjectivity as a rhetorical strategy in another way and also takes advantage of the gothic novel tradition. With these methods, More achieves her second aim to persuade her readers of the possibility of their achieving a reformation of the social order. First, in her "explicit bid for upper-class leadership in the moral reform of the poor" (Pedersen 87), More exploits her readers' subjectivity with these tales by depicting the cultural leadership of the bourgeoisie as a fait accompli. She constructs a fictional version of their cultural hegemony in times of extreme political unrest. In this way she stimulates their desire to achieve social control through active, counter-revolutionary reform having already "seen" it and the necessity for it in More's fictional world. For as David Miall points out, "to imagine a given outcome is to gain more control over it in actuality" (1993). Secondly, More appropriates the popular gothic novel tradition of removing from the immediate milieu that which is to be critiqued, which authors such as Ann Radcliffe use when they locate their fiction in Italy or Spain. But More, rather than transporting her middle-class readers to another country, uses fiction to place them into the world of the lower orders where she depicts her anticipated domestic order as already achieved by a

hegemonic bourgeoisie in cooperation with the submissive lower ranks.

With the above idealized depictions of her culture's institutions and its lower orders and her exploitation of Romantic subjectivity, More achieves her first two aims for these three "Tales For The Common People": she captures the attention of her middle-class readers; she shows them that a reformed, orderly society is possible, with their participation. However, More draws critical fire for her heavy-handed use of fiction. Ironically, her biographers describe how "realistically-based" her characters are -- particularly The Shepherd -- and praise her for using her "writer's privilege" to ease their "realities" (Hopkins 218), while her detractors who interpret her fiction as realism are appalled by her characterization of the poor. For example, E.P. Thompson's comment on More's "warped humanitarianism" and Hone's comment that More's poor are to "starve with propriety" indicate that these critics fail to acknowledge More's fiction as a rhetorical strategy which she uses to engage and persuade a bourgeois audience. One of More's most ardent supporters also misses, initially, More's intentions which underpin her fictional strategies. Horace Walpole, a long-time friend and admirer comments on "the ill-natured strictness" (Yonge 113) of More's tracts where she prescribes reading rather than pleasure for the poor on Sundays. However, he later apologizes to her, ascribing her

tactics to her "religious" nature. Yonge, as mentioned in the Introduction to this paper, also cites the Anti-Jacobin Review pamphlet which calls for the tracts "to be burnt by the common hangman." We may conclude then, that a large portion of the negative criticism toward More stemmed not only from the initial duplicitous form of her verse and ballad tracts, but more significantly from objections to her fictional strategies in these tales which some critics viewed as "Tales For The Common People" in actuality rather than only in name.

More's third aim for her final three "Common" tracts is to depict a workable method of reform for individuals, communities and the nation which she centres around her treatment of quotidian domesticity. More uses the domestic sphere as the central core of her reformation plan, incorporating techniques of language and characterization to demonstrate her methodology. For in these three tales she lays the foundation for a newly-structured domestic sphere which she builds upon in her later tracts. Here, rather than the domestic disorder of earlier tales, she now begins to construct an hierarchical, orderly quotidian domesticity for both the lower and middle ranks. She prescribes and illustrates methods to achieve domestic order in three ways : through characterization, language and women's domestic roles. She creates working-class characters in Tom White and Two Shoemakers who actively convert their fellows to middle-

class ideology; she uses language as a device to illustrate that the control of language results in the control of the lower ranks; she depicts women as significant participants in the creation of domestic order and in the reformation of the customs and morals of the poor. First, lower-class protagonists, Tom White and James Stock, act as agents for bourgeois and religious ideology. In Tom White the protagonist's early Sunday School experiences and his tutelage by "the worthy vicar" (224) Dr. Shepherd result in his internalization of Christian and middle-class ideology. More depicts the temporary lapse in his appropriate values as the cause of his brief misfortune and their reinstatement as the cause of his rise to the position of a "respectable farmer" (227). From this new position, he assumes the role of a reformer who shows others in "the parish" how to "mend our management" (230) of resources in 1795, "the year of scarcity." More's fiction is apparent in a limited way as Tom manifests an exceptional grasp of bourgeois ideology in light of his limited "education." He teaches many lessons to his "labourers" in which he advocates thrift, usefulness, piety, temperance and shrewd land-management skills. Similarly, in Two Shoemakers, More constructs James Stock as a modest, industrious, pious "son of an honest labourer" (201). Stock absorbs Christian and middle-class ideology from a clergyman who instructs him in the fundamentals of the investment mentality and the Christian religion. Stock

then spreads his internalized values to all working-class characters whom he encounters.

Tom White and James Stock are the last working-class males whose absorption of middle-class ideology is described and who are depicted as controlling their own rank's assimilation into bourgeois ideology. For More constructs The Shepherd as already possessing both middle-class and Christian values which she implies he learned from the Bible. With the assistance of Mr. Johnson, "a very worthy, charitable gentleman," (190) and Mr. Jenkins the minister, the shepherd becomes an agent within the cultural educational institution where he is made master of the new Sunday School. So rather than depicting the shepherd internalizing bourgeois ideology, More depicts the bourgeois educational apparatus internalizing the shepherd. In this way, the lower orders' control of ideology disappears as The Shepherd is incorporated into the ideological cultural machinery which is controlled by the bourgeoisie.

More also uses techniques of language to portray an orderly domestic sphere. In order to illustrate that bourgeois control of the lower orders may be exercised through their control of language, More employs language as a tactical weapon in three ways: she uses language subtly to signify the lower orders' assimilation of bourgeois ideology; she creates middle-class role models and a narrative persona who describe linguistic methods which will

reform the lower orders; she uses her narrative persona to malign the lower orders and their language. One subtle employment of language occurs where the lower-class James Stock "instructs" his colleague, Jack Brown. Stock recites faithfully the formal English of the indentures which bind him to servitude, saying that "thy own time is a very valuable part of thy master's property" (203). He also uses Biblical language when he speaks to Jack in a distinctively-bourgeois "voice" and says "don't cheat thyself. . . what thou dost intend to do, do quickly. . . did'st thou never read. . . ? (212). Stock's language here is an indicator of his role as a purveyor of bourgeois ideology. His language shows that he has internalized his subordination to a higher rank. More uses this technique again in The Shepherd in a more subtle way. At the beginning of this tale the Shepherd refers to his "cottage" which Mr. Johnson the gentleman denigrates with the word "hovel." Several pages later, the Shepherd has absorbed Mr. Johnson's term and now refers to his home as a hovel. More depicts with this instance the Shepherd's unconscious absorption of bourgeois ideology through language which indicates to More's readers the importance of language as a tool to instigate reform.

A second way in which More uses language as a tactical weapon within the domestic sphere is her arming of her middle-class role models and her narrative persona with verbal weaponry which they use for ideologically reforming

and controlling the lower ranks. For example, in Tom White where a lower-class woman, Amy Grumble, "who looked as dirty as a cinder-wench" (232), voices a legitimate objection to some well-meaning bourgeois ideology from one of her own class, the "worthy vicar" Dr. Shepherd steps in and verbally chastises her. He silences her by exercising the prerogative of his rank to advise her on how best to spend her own money. Dr. Shepherd is also the subject of the narrative persona's description of a rhetorical "method" to force religious ideology onto the lower ranks. The narrative persona says of Dr. Shepherd: "he introduced his religious observations with questions relating to their employment; he first gained their affections by kindness, and then converted his influence over them to their soul's good" (230). In The Shepherd, the gentleman Mr. Johnson claims that profane language reflects a man's equally-bad character -- a claim which implies that properly-internalized speech will reform an inappropriate character. The narrator also serves as a middle-class presenter of linguistic methods being used to inculcate bourgeois ideology. In The Two Shoemakers, she describes a "pretty method" (206) in which James Stock's apprentices spend Sunday evenings "writing out half a dozen texts of Scripture in a neat copy-book" (206). More exposes her intentions for reform through language where the narrator states that "thus the boys soon got many

psalms and chapters by heart, almost without knowing how they came by them" (206).

The third way in which More employs language as a tactical weapon, just as she did in earlier tales, occurs where the narrative persona uses negative terms and sarcastic language to denigrate the customs and language of the lower orders. However, in these tales she also makes pejorative use of their language. For example, in Two Shoemakers she criticizes the lower orders' social enjoyment of popular songs where she links domestic disorder to singing. She says that "singing promoted drinking" (213) and she refers to "that sing-song ribaldry by which our villages are corrupted, the laws broken," and "money [is] drawn from the poor for pleasure, which is wanted by their families for bread" (213). Within this group of tales she describes an idle, gaming man's "parcel of squalling brats"; she mocks the poor's "frolic, foolery and pleasure as it is called," where the word "pleasure" appears in italics as a linguistic form of mocking. She issues forth a seemingly-endless supply of adages such as "evil communications corrupt good manners." Additionally, the narrative persona expands her pejorative use of the language of the lower orders where she reiterates several of their expressions such as "good-hearted," "good-natured," "good stories," "merry fellow," "bless your heart," and others, all of which are italicized. Specifically, she says in Two Shoemakers: "his good heart

continually betrayed him into acts of levity and vanity" (212) which she follows with her explanation of how inappropriate language represents the lower orders' misguided customs. More creates in these three tales an authoritative narrative persona who works in tandem with bourgeois and "enlightened" lower-class characters to foster the internalization of a middle-class ideology. Her use of narrative mode and techniques of language are particularly effective methods for illustrating the need for the lower orders to internalize new values to replace their current customs, beliefs and language.

The third and most significant component of More's aim to prescribe and illustrate methods of reform centres on her construction of a new role for women in the reform process. In these three tales, More gives women and men different roles, but they share egalitarian portions of responsibility for creating and maintaining domestic order. She prescribes for women two major tasks: first, through good domestic management and appropriate domestic affections, they are to control vice and immoral behaviour within their own domestic spheres; secondly, through "recipes" for living they are to share their newly-absorbed ideology with deserving members of their community while they submit to the direct supervision of authority figures of the middle ranks including the clergy. Since each of Two Shoemakers, Tom White, and The Shepherd in turn depicts a progressively more

evolved role for women and for bourgeois leadership, I will deal with them individually.

In Two Shoemakers More defines domestic order, including the control of domestic vice, and she introduces women's prescribed roles in creating and maintaining order through a rhetorical method of comparison and contrast whereby she juxtaposes orderly and disorderly domestic affections and habits. As part of her definition of domestic order More prescribes the control of domestic vice. Although in the next tale the responsibility for keeping control of the vices is depicted as a cooperative responsibility of both genders, here James Stock provides vice control. More stresses the importance of "managing the diversions" where Stock says to his fellow workman that drinking songs "disorder your senses in order to excite a quicker relish for the pleasures of sin" (223). More illustrates women's contributions to domestic order where she compares the "natural" and "unnatural" domestic affections within James Stock's and Jack Brown's domestic environments. For example, Stock's mother is a "neat and notable woman" (202); his wife, Betsy West, "conform[s] to her station" and is a religious, humble, industrious girl" (209). Stock's parents' orderly domestic affections and habits lead to his growing into a "modest, industrious, pious" (201) person. In contrast, Stock's Master's wife, Mrs. Williams, neglects her duties, calls James away from "the business of trade to wash

the house, nurse the child, turn the spit or run of errands" (203). Mrs. Williams is eventually labelled as an "unnatural" (208) mother who lands in the poorhouse through bad domestic management. More also links women's morality to their clothing for the first time where she describes Mrs. Williams as "dressed in ragged filthy finery . . . quarrelling with half a dozen women as idle and dirty as herself" (208). An even more severe case of disorderly domesticity occurs in Jack Brown's home. His mother indulges his every wish and his father allows her to do so, which, More explains, means that the "future virtue and happiness of the child" (201) is forfeited. Jack's mother neglects her other children and is a tyrant to her servants. Her only admirable quality is that she is not "careless in [managing] her dairy" (201). Jack's "unnatural" father works hard but has no religion and loves his horse more than his wife. With these contrasting views of the domestic affections More provides readers with her definition of women's roles: they are to perform neat, industriously-achieved domestic home management (including managing any attached businesses); they control their children with discipline; they have complementary, but separate roles from their husbands.

A second significant thematic development occurs in this tale where More links the themes of domesticity and philanthropy in her narrative persona's direct address to readers about poor women. She laments that poor women do not

"oftener bring up their daughters to be more useful in family work" (202). This causes the "charitable gentry" to give reusable clothing to the poor less frequently, since the domestic skills to adapt the clothes is lacking. In this way More places blame for their domestic disorder on the shoulders of both middle and lower-class women. Either as an indicator of More's equivocality in allocating blame to the lower ranks or as a caution to middle-class reformers who will be advocating the same ideology, More adds here: "It is hoped they will take this kindly, as it is meant for their good" (202).

In the second of these three tales, More clearly prescribes a domestic structure which ensures domestic order. The minister, Dr. Shepherd addresses Tom and Sarah White, "in such a cheerful, good-humoured way" saying, "you have, both of you a better friend than each other . . . and that friend is God" (227). In this passage More implies that marriage is a partnership, and is not structured in a way which encourages either the husband or the wife to claim superiority; only God supersedes the domestic couple who are performing their prescribed, orderly domestic roles. Women's roles within this structured domesticity are further defined in this tale where Tom marries Sarah because she is "prudent, sober, industrious, and religious," is "seldom seen anywhere outside her family" (227), and because he knows that "a dairy could not be well carried on without a

mistress" (226). Just as More did in her verse tract, A Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, she separates the roles of men and women within the domestic sphere; a woman is not to behave "as a man" but as a good domestic manager with significant responsibility for domestic harmony, under the supervision of God.

Women play a greater part in creating and maintaining a harmonious domestic order in Tom White as compared to Two Shoemakers. More represents women's expanded role in her characterization of Sarah White whom she depicts as an active agent of middle-class values and a leader of other women. With this depiction, More reveals her strategy to mobilize women in the reform effort. For example, under the prompting and guidance of the minister, Sarah advises her "neighbours" of several cheap recipes which will assist them in meeting their domestic needs while correcting their faulty domestic management. Philanthropically, Sarah also offers to show "any of the women" (232) how to make these new dishes. Once Sarah and the minister have established some momentum in their joint address to the neighbours, Tom steps in with complementary advice to the men, describing the cultivation of parsnips as "nourishing and very profitable" (232), and adding his comments about the vice of drinking with "if you will drink less gin, you may get more meat" (233). This cooperative address ends with Tom's "rule of giving" (233) in which he exempts from receiving

philanthropy "sots, gamblers, sabbath-breakers, those who do not send their children to work on week-days and to school and church on Sunday" (233). This statement opens the door for the bourgeois Dr. Shepherd, the minister, who exempts people who "have been seen aiding or abetting any riot, any attack on butchers, bakers, wheat-mows, mills or millers" (233).

It is clear from the above statements that More has adopted a new strategy for ideological reform of the lower orders. Instead of using only linguistic techniques to denigrate the customs and beliefs of the lower orders, she depicts through her techniques of characterization reform which is conducted through the philanthropic, cooperative efforts of both genders and both classes. Tom and Sarah White, who have earned the socially-elevated position of farmers, are able to relate to both the working-class customs and values of their neighbours and to their middle-class leader. But these are the last characters of More's tracts who begin in the working class and end by becoming somewhat independent reformers. And although More expands women's cultural roles in this tale with Sarah White's advising her neighbours, in the next tale she further expands women's roles where she transfers control for the dissemination of middle-class ideology into the hands of female and male agents of the bourgeoisie who institutionalize the process of ideological reform.

In The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain More expands her strategy to mobilize women for the purposes of cultural reform in two ways. First, she places equal responsibility on women of the lowest ranks for their families' domestic order, regardless of their circumstances; secondly, she carries forward the "working woman" theme from The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor by employing Mary, the Shepherd's wife, to assist with reform which will lead towards bourgeois hegemony. In order to emphasize all women's prescribed domestic roles, More changes her protagonist to a poor woman but continues to attribute the same responsibilities for domestic order to her as she did to Sarah White. For example, even though More fictionalizes heavily her depiction of the hardships of the Shepherd's wife Mary, including inadequate food and housing, "violent" rheumatism, and eight children, she credits her with well-managed domestic harmony and pathetically-real domestic affections. For instance, as she did in Two Shoemakers, she attributes moral symbolism to clothing where the Shepherd's neat, clean, patched and darned clothing evokes Mr. Johnson's remark that his clothing "proved the exceeding neatness, industry and good management of his wife" (191). More communicates here her high level of expectations for all women who are to perform their domestic duties in spite of the most trying circumstances.

A second aspect of More's strategy to mobilize women is her enlarged definition of women's work within this tale. Mary, in partnership with her husband, and invigilated by God, creates domestic order at home. But she is also mobilized for cultural warfare by her partnership with middle-class community leaders; she is paid "the usual price" (200) for promoting domestic order as the mistress of the school where she teaches domestic skills to young women. We have already seen that the concept of working women is established in More's tracts; Betty Brown "keeps a sausage shop" while she fulfils her domestic duties at home with her husband, the Hackney Coachman. However, the difference between More's earlier version of a working woman with her depiction of Betty Brown and this depiction of Mary is that Mary conducts her "business" as an agent of the middle ranks. Where Betty attended to her own domestic order, achieving More's earlier goal of non-revolution for the lower classes, Mary symbolizes More's redefined role for women: they are to promote domestic order under the direct supervision of the bourgeoisie in an effort to create community-wide domestic order, in addition to maintaining harmony within their own families.

With these last three Tales For The Common People, we have seen the end of lower-class reformers who spread middle-class ideology independently; and in The Shepherd, More eradicates all ideas of cultural control which are

associated with the lower orders. She greatly increases the proportion of counter-revolutionary middle-class ideological leaders; the ephemeral, philanthropic "lady" of the early Common tales is replaced by predominantly-male bourgeois leaders and by lower-class male and female characters who disseminate bourgeois ideology and who extend philanthropy to only the "deserving" lower-classes in an orderly, cooperative fashion.

The parameters which More places around philanthropy and her depiction of the poor as malleable children caused Jacobin critics to denigrate her Tracts. Hone's criticism of the Tracts as "trash" and his sarcastic comments on More's treatment of the poor, as I mentioned before, reveal that he attributes realism to More's intentionally-fictionalized characters and situations. But opposition such as Hone's to political fiction which is singularly committed to depicting anti-Jacobin rhetoric and Christian ideology is to be expected. It is not surprising that E.P. Thompson would look back on them as warping "the humanitarian tradition." As we have seen, More designs these tales for a conservative, middle-class readership and intends them to be a counter-attack on Jacobinism which could fuel a rebellion of the lower orders.

But curiously, much critical indignation, as we observed in the Introduction, was levelled at More from within her own "Establishment" ranks. May we assume that her

redefinition of women's roles and the increased amount of responsibility she places on women, rather than her counter-revolutionary message accounts for some of this critical opposition? For we have seen in these Tales For The Common People the beginnings of More's redefinition of women's cultural roles: she balances lower-class women's status equally with their husbands'; she makes women equally responsible for the "business" of the domestic affections and quotidian domestic order at home and in their communities. For example, Sarah White manages her own dairy and conducts Christian philanthropy by offering advice and assistance to women of the lower orders. More further expands the potential for women's cultural influence when she promotes Mary in The Shepherd to a paid position within the middle-class educational institution, along with her husband. Frank Prochaska supports More's intentions; he speaks of More's Tracts as religious propaganda which "pointed to women of inferior station as worthy examples of charitable service" (163). And although More does not exceed class boundaries where she elevates women of the lower orders, we will see in Chapter Four that she next extends a considerable degree of cultural power to middle-class women. She carries forward her elevation of women's social status within the domestic sphere and further enlarges through philanthropy and education, the boundaries of their domestic influence. I demonstrate in the next chapter that More's

prescription for increased cultural power for women is instrumental in evoking strongly-negative critical reactions from bourgeois males.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## POLITICIZED DOMESTICITY

More builds upon the rhetorical strategies and themes of the Common People tracts in her next contributions to the Cheap Repository project, Stories For Persons of the Middle Ranks. Here, More places a tremendous amount of social responsibility on the middle ranks, giving them complete charge of the national domestic reformation process. Supported by Christian precepts, she prescribes philanthropy for the gentry and the middle classes and promotes institutionalized education as necessary for the reformation of the lower orders. This prescriptive discourse, aimed at the bourgeoisie, requires them to move beyond enjoying the engaging discourse which they consumed at the expense of the extremely exaggerated poor in the Common People tracts to assimilating More's prescriptions for "militant" activity. For More teaches them in these tracts how to achieve cultural hegemony through the reformation of the domestic sphere.

Part of More's reformation plan is her prescription for middle-class women to play a central, elevated role in a newly-constructed national domestic order. Although this prescription represents More's "feminist" achievement since she endows middle-class women with increased cultural power as a required element of her reform strategy, it also evokes the indignant criticism of critics who support British

patriarchal institutions. Those of the bourgeoisie who wished women to remain "frail" beings were not anxious for them to be converted into purposive, philanthropic "soldiers" with the power to carry their domestic authority into the community and the nation. Frank Prochaska comments that "a distinctive feature of women's work in the nineteenth century is the degree to which they applied their domestic experience and education, the concerns of family and relations, to the world outside the home" (7). In the 1790s with her Cheap Repository Tracts Hannah More becomes a pioneer in achieving this redefinition of "women's work." Her politicization of domesticity with her depictions of women carrying their domestic authority into the public sphere and her prescriptions for reform of both the lower and middle ranks by middle-class, right-wing "activists" is the genesis for much of the critical backlash against More and her Tracts.

I demonstrate in this chapter that More reveals her aim to instil with these "stories" conservative, Christian, middle-class values, not only within the lower orders, but also within the middle ranks; she politicizes domesticity which produces as a corollary increased cultural power for women; she interlocks rhetorically the lives of the lower and middle ranks, depicting a "responsible" cooperative gentry in order to promote national domestic order under the hegemony of the conservative faction of the bourgeoisie.

More achieves her aims by politicizing domesticity in two ways: first, she employs linguistic devices such as military language and analogy, allegory, and satire in order to illustrate for the middle ranks the "operation" of reform as it is to be conducted within the domestic sphere; More's equal and complete familiarity with the customs and rituals of the lower ranks and the ideology of her Jacobin opponents of the middle ranks informs her selection of rhetorical weaponry. Simultaneously, through techniques of characterization she constructs as a component of her rhetorical strategy a new female archetype who wages cultural "warefare" alongside her male partners and who takes more than her share of responsibility for implementing philanthropic and educational reform strategies.

More employs military language and analogy in her tract The Servant Man Turned Soldier or The Fair Weather Christian: An Allegory. Here, she depicts a soldier in the service of his King as analogous to a Christian [and middle-class] reformer's life in the service of God. Through military terms, More makes clear that both occupations involve "warefare[sic]"(246) and that reform is not easy. Although she labels this tract an allegory, More uses narrative mode and characterization to "personalize" this lesson for the middle ranks. She personalizes her tract with "William;" he relates a lament in first-person singular mode directly to readers on the hardships he encounters in

performing "service." More also includes dialogue between her protagonist and a more experienced, proper-thinking "old officer"(245) which emphasizes the military style of leadership which must be used to achieve results.

More's martial language, military analogy and personalized modes of narration in this tract operate as rhetorical conditioning for potential reformers within her middle-class readership. For in this last group of her tracts, More shifts her focus toward current topics which are readily understood by her bourgeois readers. More uses these tracts to alert the complacent middle ranks to their opportunity for seizing cultural hegemony by turning to their advantage the current, dire economic situation. She capitalizes with her military analogy on their anxiety within their politically-tense environment where two seasons of crop failures have exacerbated the tensions between social classes. Her familiarity with customs and conditions of the lower orders which she achieved in part from her Sunday School projects gives her the necessary "ammunition" to construct and promote a militant reform plan in which she interlocks the lives of the middle and lower ranks in a new domestic structure; the participatory leadership of the bourgeoisie through philanthropy and education leads to their "controlling" the lower orders by reforming their social customs and morals. With this strategy, attempts to rebel because of pressing social and economic conditions are

made more difficult and at the same time the lives of the poor are economically improved. Frank Prochaska credits More's opportunism where he states that she is one of "the crusading women writers" who "were highly influential propagandists for the cause of philanthropy" (39). More uses the Christian-based precept of philanthropy to mobilize the middle ranks into action, calling for them to perform cultural duties beyond what she had indicated in earlier tracts which were written in less turbulent times. Where in Village Politics(1792) she had called for individual reformation with the expression, "Let every one mend one," now (1796-98) she is calling for "everyone" of the middle and gentry ranks to "mend" many as they assume leadership in the reform movement.

In order to demonstrate to her readers of the middle ranks that "militant" force is necessary in order to combat Jacobinism and the potentially-rebellious lower orders, More first discredits Jacobin ideology, its proponents, and the lower-class customs which support the dissemination of this ideology. Secondly, she advances through characterization the themes of philanthropy and education as weapons of cultural "warefare[sic]" by promoting three correctives to Jacobin rhetoric: the gentry are to be benefactors of the poor by providing for their instruction and welfare and by setting a good example for them; the legal system is an effective, complementary cultural weapon to philanthropy for

regulating the "vices" of the lower and middle ranks; and philanthropy is most effectively enacted within the domestic sphere of the middle and lower ranks as "ladies business" (171). More leaves behind in these tracts her depictions of a fantasy world and instead concentrates on depicting the middle ranks as militant, well-meaning reformers who are supported by God in their efforts to achieve British national order.

More reminds her readers of their Jacobin ideological opponents' erroneous ideals and their methods of warfare where she first attacks through techniques of language such as parody, sarcasm and diatribe Jacobin "philosophers"; secondly, she links Jacobin philosophy and lower-class social customs in a way which denigrates both. Her tracts The History of Mr. Fantom; A New Fashioned Philosopher and A Cure For Melancholy; Showing the Way to do Much Good With Little Money contain evidence of these rhetorical strategies. For example, in Mr. Fantom More constructs a sarcastic third-person narrator who parodies Jacobin ideals and caricatures Mr. Fantom who is a "convert" to those ideals. She says that Mr. Fantom, a member of the merchant class, "fancied he was lost in the mass of general society" (120), was "utterly disconnected" (121), and claimed "an exemption from the power of the laws and an emancipation from the restraints of religion, conscience, and moral obligation" (121). More's professional middle-class readers

would have no difficulty in perceiving from this parody of a philosopher, who is unencumbered by domestic obligations to his society, William Godwin and/or Thomas Holcroft as the protagonist, Mr. Fantom. The narrator also disparages Mr. Fantom's following of another Jacobin ideologue, Thomas Paine, where she utters a scathing, transparent diatribe about a "famous little book" written by the "NEW PHILOSOPHER" [More's capitalization] (120). Middle-class readers would recognize instantly Paine's The Age of Reason from the narrator's metaphoric reference to "a man . . . who had stooped to rake up out of the kennel of infidelity, all the loathsome dregs and offal dirt" (120).

The narrator's terms "dregs" and "dirt" in the above example conjure images of "the poor" for middle-class readers and signify a second element of More's battle with Jacobin ideology -- her linking of Jacobin philosophy to lower-class customs in ways which diminish them both. This linkage is perceptible, for example, where her narrator describes sardonically Mr. Fantom's practice of employing "the usual means of attaching importance to insignificance . . . getting into clubs and societies" (120) and names his club the "Cat and Bagpipes." This name connotes for middle-class readers the less-than-civilized, "sneaky" Scottish highlands culture, the Scottish Enlightenment, and also transmits More's disapproval of the habit of socializing at club meetings which were usually held in taverns. Although

the narrator states that Fantom's self-centred socializing is a "little harmless recreation" by a "few sober citizens" (121), she implies and her conservative readers note that many seditious meetings of Jacobin "philosophers" and their lower-class supporters are held at "free and easys" in taverns where Jacobin thinkers fuel current social, economic, and political dissatisfactions of the "the vulgar" (120) by promoting national domestic disorder. Because More places her narrator's satiric references to the "Cat and Bagpipes" immediately after her diatribe about Paine's The Age of Reason her conservative readers would not miss the connections between infidelity, Jacobinism and lower-class, public socializing.

With her tract A Cure For Melancholy, More balances her attack on Jacobinism with prescriptions for domestic reform. She employs a narrative persona to collude directly with middle-class readers and she promotes through characterization three correctives to Jacobin rhetoric, infidelity, and lower-class domestic disorder. The first two correctives are that the gentry are to be the philanthropic benefactors of the poor by providing for their instruction and welfare and by setting for them a good example and that the legal system be an effective, complementary cultural "weapon" to philanthropy for regulating the domestic "vices" of the middle, and especially, the lower ranks. The narrator establishes a collusion with her middle-class readers with

expressions such as "You would not believe . . . " (170) and with clarifications such as "I mean the lesson of vigilance and activity" (168); she assumes a concurrence of values and knowledge from her readers. More then employs characterization to illustrate that only the middle ranks are capable of assuming cultural hegemony through domestic reform since the aristocracy's decadence and views prevent them from assuming responsible leadership and the "vices" of the poor prevent them from achieving domestic order. For example, "Sir John" is an aristocrat who loves pleasure, is indolent and believes that it is "madness to think of reforming" (168) the lower orders. With these characteristics which ironically match those of the poor, Sir John is incapable of assuming cultural leadership. In contrast to Sir John, More characterizes "The Squire" who becomes a responsible member of the gentry where he contributes to domestic reform by employing the legal system as a tool to control the vices of the disorderly "vulgar." More constructs the Squire as "a friend to order" (170), a magistrate who closes down public drinking houses so that the lower orders must drink at home and thereby avoid sedition and infidelity which are encouraged in their social settings. In effect, More uses a "divide and conquer" technique. The Squire also fines merchants who open their shops on Sunday, so that people will be encouraged to attend church rather than socialize with each other in uncontrolled

settings. The Squire's applications of institutional "justice" as correlates to Christian principles support More's intentions to show that the gentry along with cultural institutions are responsible for reforming the current domestic disorder within Britain.

More promotes her third significant corrective to Jacobinism and domestic disorder with her characterization of a new female archetype who is equally as necessary to the reformation of the domestic sphere as are the responsible gentry and the justice system. "Mrs. Jones" appears here and in two other tracts -- The Sunday School and The History of Hester Wilmot and is representative of More's new characterization. Through this newly-constructed female archetype, More increases her exploitation of women's domestic "calling" and the cultural belief that they are morally superior. She expands the boundaries of the domestic sphere where she mobilizes women as "soldiers" of reform; she depicts them achieving cultural power since she arms them with two weapons of the middle ranks -- Christian philanthropy and institutionalized education.

Whereas Sarah White signalled the beginning of women's active involvement in community reformation, Mrs. Jones is a modified, much more powerful version of Sarah White. More signals to her readers that she models Mrs. Jones on her characterization of Sarah White; Mrs. Jones actually acknowledges "Mrs. White" as an appropriate example of

female domestic activity. She says, "Mrs. White . . . has given us an account of her cheap dishes, and nice cookery, in one of the cheap Repository little books" (171). However, Mrs. Jones wields considerably more social power than did Sarah White. With Mrs. Jones More greatly extends her politicization of the domestic sphere; from within this sphere Mrs. Jones promotes Christian philanthropy and "institutionalized" education as methods of cultural warfare in two ways: first, she "manages" the decadence of the aristocracy and she "converts" the middle classes into responsible stewards of the culture; secondly, she "speaks" both overtly and obliquely to the customs and vices of the lower ranks, showing her readers how to practise reformation through politicized domesticity.

More's Mrs. Jones tackles successfully the aristocracy and the gentry as part of her reform project. In A Cure where Sir John initially has no intention of or hope for reforming the morals of the poor, he eventually acquiesces to Mrs. Jones' requests. For instance, he agrees to buy only top quality cuts of meat so that the cheaper cuts will be available for the poor. Although this appears to be a somewhat hollow victory from the viewpoint of the lower orders, his agreeing with Mrs. Jones nonetheless results in the poor at least being able to obtain meat and also shows that the aristocracy can be "managed" by the middle ranks. The Squire also is prompted by Mrs Jones to become enamoured

of domestic reformation as opposed to his initial "love" of money. As well, where he is initially over-zealous with his use of the law in curtailing the lower orders, Mrs. Jones impresses upon him the need to appropriate "religious restraint" (169) as well as legal means to achieve domestic order. I referred above to the way in which the Squire incorporates religious principles into the legal system as a consequence of his "new" gentry responsibilities. And in addition to reforming males of the bourgeois and upper classes, Mrs. Jones also states that "too many gentry neglect to make it a part of the duty of their grown up daughters to inspect the instruction of the poor" (171). Thus, More demonstrates that both genders of the gentry must cooperate to achieve a domestic order that is dictated by middle-class, Christian ideology and is "led" by women.

The second way in which More increases her politicization of domesticity occurs where she "speaks" to the disorderly customs and vices of the lower classes both overtly and covertly through her narrative persona and more significantly through her newly-constructed female archetype, Mrs. Jones. More reveals in A Cure, as she did in Mr. Fantom, her extensive familiarity with the cultural practices of the lower orders which she acquired from three sources: her "sans-culotte" library of street literature; her work with the lower classes in her Sunday Schools; and her mother's rural, farming family background. More first

shows readers how Mrs. Jones gains access to the lower orders' domestic sphere in order to prepare them for re-education by the middle ranks. The narrator explains Mrs. Jones' two-step process: first, "attending to the poor's bodily wants [philanthropy] gave her such access to their houses and hearts;" and "made them better disposed to receive religious [and middle class] counsel and instruction" (168); so that secondly, she was able to apply to the lower orders institutional education in the form of middle-class ideology which is justified by Christian morality and reinforced by the justice system.

It is significant that Mrs. Jones' two-stage plan echoes the method which More constructed for Dr. Shepherd, the minister, in her earlier tract Tom White. As well as the female domestic methods of Sarah White such as "recipes" and domestic leadership of other women, More here brings forward the deliberate ideological marketing plan of Dr. Shepherd; but rather than giving the clergy sole responsibility for the logical dissemination of ideology, she gives Mrs. Jones and by implication, all middle-class women, the responsibility for domestic reformation. By merging these powerful reform strategies under the social umbrella of women's domestic sphere, More enables her new female archetype to perform important cultural service on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Mrs. Jones' reform strategy becomes the model for a "new plan of life" (168) for middle-class

readers to follow and simultaneously, Mrs. Jones becomes the model for middle-class women to emulate in the battle for cultural hegemony.

Having given Mrs. Jones a structured reformation plan, More "speaks" in two ways to her middle class readers through the "voice" of Mrs. Jones: first, she condemns lower-class custom and morality overtly through Mrs. Jones' negative language; secondly, through Mrs. Jones' positive, all-inclusive language and with the narrator's assistance, More provides specific remedies to the lower classes' domestic disorder. More's direct condemnation of the lower orders occurs through negative language when Mrs. Jones disparages the lower orders' beliefs and habits. She condemns their literature as "wicked books," their "bad management" (168) of domesticity, their status as "ignorant people" whose custom of protecting each other from informing on law-breakers is mistaken, their lottery mentality which results in "debt and distress" (169) and their public socializing -- "enjoying" [More italicizes] (170) themselves-- as the cause of their families being "ragged and starving" (170).

Secondly, although More has addressed these issues in earlier tracts, she adds here in positive and all-inclusive language remedies which are put into place by the actions of her new female archetype with the assistance of her narrator. For example, Mrs. Jones recommends that middle-

class women distribute freely "little good books" to the poor in order to counteract the effects of their street literature. This phrase reminds readers that More has already used this term to describe her own Cheap Repository tract in which Sarah White appears. Mrs. Jones remedies the poor's "bad management" and ensures the proliferation of middle-class values amongst the lower orders by establishing a charity school to teach "the arts of industry and good management" (171); she shows them how to cook cheaply, and how to make their own beer so that public socializing will be decreased. For instance, she describes in positive language "an honest man drinking his wholesome cup of beer by his own fireside" (170). Many readers will recall here the reformed "carpenter" of More's very early ballad tract who realizes that his drinking is causing the ruin of his family. The narrator also assists with Mrs. Jones' reform efforts by saying that she prints cheap recipes and distributes them throughout "all other parishes" (171). With this use of all-inclusive language, More emphasizes the broadening influence of the bourgeoisie through professional, middle-class literary means. Mrs. Jones' condemnation of lower-class culture through negative language, the effective remedies which she portrays in positive terms, and the narrator's distribution of reformation "recipes" reflect More's intention to use middle-class women in cooperation with others of the gentry

and middle-ranks as instigators of national domestic reform.

Negative critical reactions to More's redefinition of women's role in society are plentiful. "Peter Pindar's" vicious satire of More's talent, body and character, which I mentioned earlier, obscures the fact that Sir John Wolcot and More must have held similar counter-revolutionary political ideologies. One way to account for the viciousness of this attack is to attribute it to More's redefining gender roles in the process of counteracting potential rebellion. The Anti-Jacobin Review pamphlet which calls for the tracts to be burned is also intriguing in light of the fact that More's central objective -- to prevent rebellion which could stem from Jacobin ideology-- is the same one which is sought by this publication. One must conclude that More's prescriptions for increased power for women are the source of the negative reaction from this conservative, middle-class literary publication. But perhaps Edward Spencer's outright admission that he views More as a "female fanatic" because he resents the degree of power that she achieves in the Church [read State as well], provides the most revealing cue to the type of "establishment" concerns which are at the root of negative criticism that is directed at More. Where bourgeois patriarchs are able to appreciate More's prescriptions for domestic order, they react with shock and indignation to her suggestion that for domestic

order to be achieved, the power relationships between genders within their own ranks must be altered.

We have seen that issues of class and gender cause Hannah More to become controversial and influential in her day, and that these same issues fuel her notoriety in modern times. For class conflict and gender issues are at the heart of More's reformation plan for the social system; these tracts contribute significantly to the professional literary middle ranks' efforts to define rhetorically a British "nation" in spite of objections to More's rhetorical strategies. The discussion in Chapter One reveals that More begins her verse and ballad tracts by creating mildly-didactic tracts in which she chastises the lower classes gently for their customs and beliefs. She employs a dialogue format in which the large majority of the narration is spoken by two different lower-class character types: one is a realistically-depicted lower-class individual who has disdain for the law and disregard for social order, socializes in taverns, swears, and displays a "lottery" as opposed to a Christian, middle-class "investment" mentality; the second character type, represented by such characters as the Hackney Coachman and the Good Militia Man are more exaggerated since they are working-class characters who have internalized middle-class values. More uses infrequently third-person narrators, choosing instead to employ these slightly-elevated, "enlightened" working-class reformers since they will have a better chance of being "heard" by readers of their own rank. Although these characters are

socially representative of the lower ranks, their middle-class values set them apart from others of their rank; they are assisted minimally or not at all by More's narrator, as they address the members of their own social rank. These strategies of narrative mode and characterization reveal that More's initial aim is to address the lower ranks with her Tracts.

More also appropriates several features of lower-class culture to draw in readers of the lower ranks without discouraging them from reading on in these early verse and ballad tracts. She appeals to oral culture with her story-telling style and her ballads; she juxtaposes orderly and disorderly lower-class domestic spheres, privileging order over disorder where she depicts a better life for those of the lower ranks who internalize middle-class values; she admits that the lower orders have "souls" in The Hackney Coachman which gives them the possibility of using their own subjectivity to improve their lives within their social station rather than resigning themselves to "lucky hits"; she depicts the wealthy ranks as willing to assist "deserving" members of the lower orders.

In the second part of Chapter One, More's rhetorical strategies are shown to reflect already her shifting aims for her Tract project. For here, she changes significantly her narrative strategies. Rather than using only working-class spokesmen to gently chastise their own members, More

uses with increasing frequency a third-person, authoritative narrator who judges the customs and attacks the popular pastimes of the lower orders. This change in her use of narrative mode allows More to double her didacticism, by adding her middle-class narrator to an increasing cast of lower-class characters who espouse middle-class values. Within this second group of her verse and ballad tracts, More's narrator evolves into a middle-class persona who establishes a connection to readers where she speaks to them directly; More then uses this connection as a channel to collude with middle-class readers.

With her communication link to middle-class readers established, More uses her new narrative "assistant," techniques of language, and her treatment of domesticity to "speak" to her readers of the middle ranks, showing them how to "preach" and "teach" to the lower ranks. Her narrator recites bourgeois ideology in verse, for example, in The Apprentice's Monitor, and uses techniques of language such as repetition as methods to influence the lower orders. Examples of these methods are abundant in Robert and Richard, Patient Joe, and The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor. More's treatment of domesticity and subjectivity in such tracts as The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor make middle-class readers fully aware that More's tracts are not meant as simply "comfort" for the poor.

There are several reasons why this early group of verse and ballad tracts caused critical grief for More from the Jacobin faction of the bourgeoisie and resulted in the abandonment of the tracts as "street literature" by the lower classes. Those of the lower orders who were taken in by the form, format, price and distribution system of the early Tracts would have found unappealing More's increasing didacticism and her fictional depictions of the lower classes and their culture. Critics such as William Hone and E.P. Thompson reflect the views of those who object to More's unflattering depictions of the lower ranks. Where More changes rhetorically from gentle chastisement of the lower ranks by "enlightened" working-class characters to the increasing didacticism of her middle-class narrator, she reveals that "preaching" and "teaching," as her narrative persona admits in The Shopkeeper Turned Sailor, are the underpinnings of her changing rhetorical strategy. This admission reveals that More intends to change her readership from the lower orders to the middle-ranks.

More's link to middle-class readers which she establishes with her narrative strategy prepares them for her address to them exclusively in the remainder of the Tracts. For More also introduces carefully, in these verse and ballad tracts, the ideas that bourgeois women are an important strategic component of her plan to achieve domestic order and that the gentry and middle-ranks must

become involved with the lower ranks through philanthropy in order for national domestic order to be achieved. But at this point in the Tracts More only hints at these themes so that she will be able to carry forward her middle-class readership into the next set of tracts where she develops these particular ideas.

In Chapter Two I have shown that More responds to the increasing demand for her "little good books" by not only increasing the paper quality and price of her tracts, but also by changing her rhetorical strategies so as to create a greater appeal for bourgeois readers. Through carefully-calculated strategies such as increasingly-judgemental middle-class narrators who use axioms, maxims and sarcasm and through a dramatic increase in her use of exaggeration, More displays for her bourgeois readers the sorry state of the lower orders' domestic sphere. For example, Black Giles and Tawney Rachel's law-breaking, remorseless, uncontrolled, impious, intemperate behaviour and their beliefs in superstition and luck represent all of the lower-classes' disorderly domestic lives. More shows readers in this way that reform of the lower ranks' customs, beliefs and morals is necessary if national domestic order is to be achieved under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

In the tales considered in Chapter Two, More also displays Christian philanthropy of the gentry as well as reformation within the lower orders' domestic sphere which

is instigated through the cooperation of women and representatives of the Church and State. With her "lady" characters who assist young women such as Betty Brown and The Collier Girl, More illustrates the female gentry's philanthropic participation in the reform of the lower orders. But as she was in her verse tracts, More is still somewhat reluctant to express direct prescriptions for middle-class women to take command of the reformation effort. Instead, she strengthens her "hold" on bourgeois readers with her extreme use of fiction in the next three tracts, placing herself in a more advantageous position before revealing the tremendous degree of responsibility which must be assumed by both genders of the middle ranks as they rise toward cultural hegemony.

In Chapter Three, evidence that More constructs her most idealized discourse of the Cheap Repository Tracts is presented. For by the end of this Chapter we see that More has created a whole fictional "world" in which the lower orders remain subservient to the bourgeoisie, but they are able to live better lives because they have, in More's imagined, reformed "world," internalized middle-class, Christian values. Where in Chapter Two More's heavily-fictionalized attacks on the lower orders such as her depictions of Black Giles' family are objectionable from a Jacobin viewpoint because she so completely disparages the whole of lower class culture, I have shown that the most

objectionable reactions to the tracts seem to stem from her imagined, completely reformed society in The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain. Since this tract was one of the most popular, is it popular for positive or negative reasons? Is it More's construction of a disenfranchised "poor" who cooperate in their own subjugation which leads to this tract's popularity amongst the conservative middle ranks? Or are the Jacobins buying these extremely-fictionalized tracts for distribution as "good examples" of what bourgeois hegemony would bring for the already-disenfranchised lower orders?

The fact that More's fictional, reformed world appears to have stirred the most critical controversy is curious where the conservative faction of the bourgeoisie is concerned because she depicts these bourgeoisie as the hegemonic leaders of an orderly British culture. If we assume that hegemony is their objective, then it follows that something else about More's rhetorical reform plan disturbs them. I have shown that More's trenchant tactics, illustrated here in Chapter Three, contain the seeds of much of the continuing controversy about More and her Tracts. For in Tom White, The Two Shoemakers, and The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, More begins to reveal her intention to attribute to middle-class women a significant role in the process of reforming the British nation. For example, More contrasts orderly and disorderly domesticity through her

characterization of James Stock's and Jack Brown's mothers; she gives Sarah White a leadership role in reform, in partnership with the clergy and she gives Mary, the Shepherd's wife a "job" in More's reformed domestic structure where Mary becomes an agent for the reproduction of middle-class values within the lower ranks.

The above examples point toward the major themes of Christian philanthropy and women's roles in domestic reform which are discussed here in Chapter Four. Using Sarah White as a rhetorical springboard, More characterizes Mrs. Jones in her Stories For Persons of the Middle Ranks as a new female archetype who "leads" in the reformation of the domestic sphere of the nation and who complies with "Providential" determination where she maintains the British class structure. This issue of gender within a patriarchal system is the most intriguing aspect of criticism about More and her contributions to the Cheap Repository Tracts. Does her depiction of middle-class women make her a "feminist"? Or does the hierarchical nature of her reform plan in which she advocates adherence to the British class structure for the sake of bourgeois hegemony diminish in some way her elevated view of women as "managers" in the cultural reform movement? Frank Prochaska points out that some of More's female contemporaries felt that she made a great contribution on behalf of women. He cites Helen Blackburn who "saw Hannah More, Mrs. Barbauld, and Mrs. Trimmer as

passing the 'lamp from hand to hand' and raising the social and intellectual position of women" (227). I pointed out in the Introduction that modern critics also feel that More's contributions are noteworthy. Mitzi Myers credits More with bringing to light central issues of female ideology where she "outlined woman's nurturing and reformative assignment" (1986, 266). And Patricia Demers acknowledges the critical controversy surrounding More but appeals to "common sense" where she "reconsiders" More's significant mentorship of other women.

While it is difficult to overlay anachronistically onto the 1790s our modern views of feminism, these Tracts reveal clearly that More's depictions of the reformed "Carpenter's" wife, Mary the Shepherd's wife, Sarah White and especially Mrs. Jones qualify these characters as active "saviours" of British national domestic order. The fact that More attributes agency to women of all ranks in that she expects even women who are poverty-stricken to maintain domestic order with philanthropic help in her fictional "world" is an essential element of her "pioneering" efforts on behalf of women. In her efforts to assist with cultural hegemony for the conservative bourgeoisie, More very cleverly uses the occasion to better the position of women in a cultural milieu where misogyny is increasing.

While More's characters operate safely from within her fictional "world" More herself "throws caution to the wind"

where her personal reputation is concerned. She does not allow her status as a jilted "hag" or her precarious economic position which places her on the margins of the gentry or her being labelled as a "female fanatic" within patriarchal religious circles, to affect her relentless desire to make a contribution to her culture through her writing. Mary Poovey's description of female authors' "defiance" is easily perceived by those of modern times or of the 1790s who are able to recognize More's clever appropriation of street literature, her talent in exploiting fiction for political purposes and her exploitation of women's traditional domestic roles to promote Christian philanthropy as a weapon of cultural warfare. The controversy which surrounds More's carefully-constructed, hyperbolic fiction of the tales we saw in Chapter Three, where she appropriates popular literature and culture on behalf of the bourgeoisie, her use of fiction to depict an unbelievably-happy lower class which complies with the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, and the indignant critical reactions to her later tracts where she attributes greater cultural power to women through her politicization of domesticity, make Hannah More a contentious presence who is hard to ignore in her time or in ours. For she shocks her middle-class readers into recognizing the deplorable conditions of the poor of their society; she uses their anxiety about Jacobinism and the potential rebellion of the

lower orders to promote with her trenchant tactics the reform of the British "nation" through Christian philanthropy. How can we ignore that?

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